

PEACE NEWS

No. 175.

LONDON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1939.

2d.

TO DESTROY HITLERISM MAKE PEACE NOW



JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY,
author of "The Necessity of
Pacifism"

Dictatorship Will Come to Britain If the War Goes On

BEHIND the growing "Stop-the-War" demand lies a realization of three things:

1. The war will not end Hitlerism—any more than the last war ended German militarism or war itself.
2. A continuance of the war will speed up the process of turning the "democratic" Allies themselves into dictatorships.
3. The world is ripe for a new international order, whose establishment will be made infinitely more difficult if the war goes on.

That is why the "Stop-the-War" demand is coupled with a call for a peace conference now, at which the great task of building a new world order can be begun. But the peace conference itself will not be sufficient unless we have a clear idea of our aims.

In the following article John Middleton Murry, the well-known pacifist author, shows that if we would end Hitlerism we must first understand its causes.

If we do this, he claims, we shall see that a continuation of the war can only enthrone Hitlerism in this country as well. Only peace, he claims, will bring about its downfall.

Mr. Murry goes on to suggest a way in which we can progress toward a warless world. It should be clearly understood that neither "Peace News" nor the Peace Pledge Union is committed to support of his proposals, which are published as a personal expression of opinion. An international air "police" force, for instance, would be opposed by many pacifists.

(Peace Demand Still Grows—see Pages 7 and 11).

ON OTHER PAGES

| | |
|--|---|
| ★ | |
| An Old Soldier Says: "They Told Me That Last Time" | 3 |
| News and Advice for COs | 5 |
| Dare We Break the Vicious Circle? by Harry Emerson Fosdick | 6 |
| Another "Peace News" Record | 8 |

"Stop-the-War" Candidate on the Clackmannan election result:

BEATEN—BUT NOT DEFEATED!

By ANDREW STEWART

I REPORTED in last week's *Peace News* that the result of the Clackmannan by-election would be sensational.

It certainly was. It surprised even the best-informed on the spot.

The combined Labour, Conservative, and Liberal vote was 15,645 (as against 33,680 at the 1935 election); the "Stop-the-War" vote was 1,060 (as against the ILP vote of 1,513 last time).

This was sensational in two particulars: In the very low total poll (32 percent of the electorate) at a time of crisis, and in the very low vote for my opponent.

The miserable weather, the lack of cars owing to the petrol shortage, and the black-out partly accounted for the former, but not wholly. That there is widespread apathy cannot be disputed.

The low vote for the man whom I still regard as the war coalition nominee can only be explained by a large-scale Conservative and Liberal abstention and by the bewilderment of the Labour rank-and-file.

I confess to having been disappointed with the result on its announcement. But I am no longer dejected. My head may be bloody, but it is certainly not bowed.

Encouraging Signs

We can as a movement derive great heart as I do now from a more detached view of the poll.

1. We have derived added stature from having made our public witness at a time like this. We have not just retreated into a corner in this terrible crisis. We have had the confidence to go to the people with our message at a time when it could hardly be expected to be widely popular.

(Continued on page 12).

A Chance We Must Not Miss

THE purpose of this war, we are told, is "to destroy Hitlerism."

The purpose of the war in 1914-18 was "to destroy Prussian militarism." Then we won the war, and did not destroy Prussian militarism; we gave it a new lease of life in a more sinister form. So, too, if we win this war, we shall not thereby "destroy Hitlerism," but merely produce a condition still more abominable.

We also want to "destroy Hitlerism." Therefore, it is imperative to understand what Hitlerism is.

At bottom, Hitlerism is the means by which a great modern industrial nation tries simultaneously to overcome economic anarchy and to avoid social revolution. To

understand Hitlerism, we have to understand that the vast productive capacity of a modern industrial nation can be fully employed only if its products are given away.

But you cannot give away the products, or the money to buy them, without a social revolution. The only way to keep the machines going and to avoid a social revolution is by preparing for war: which is giving away the products of machine industry on a colossal scale—to the enemy.

We Copy Hitler

That is what Hitlerism is: the overcoming of economic crisis by regimenting the whole nation in the task of preparation for war. And in fact, we have had to follow Hitler's lead. We also have overcome our economic crisis by preparing for war on a fantastic scale.

Preparation for war leads to war. Now, it has led to war.

But the war which is the result of war preparation, which is itself the result of the contradiction between the productive system and an obsolete social morality, is an utterly senseless war.

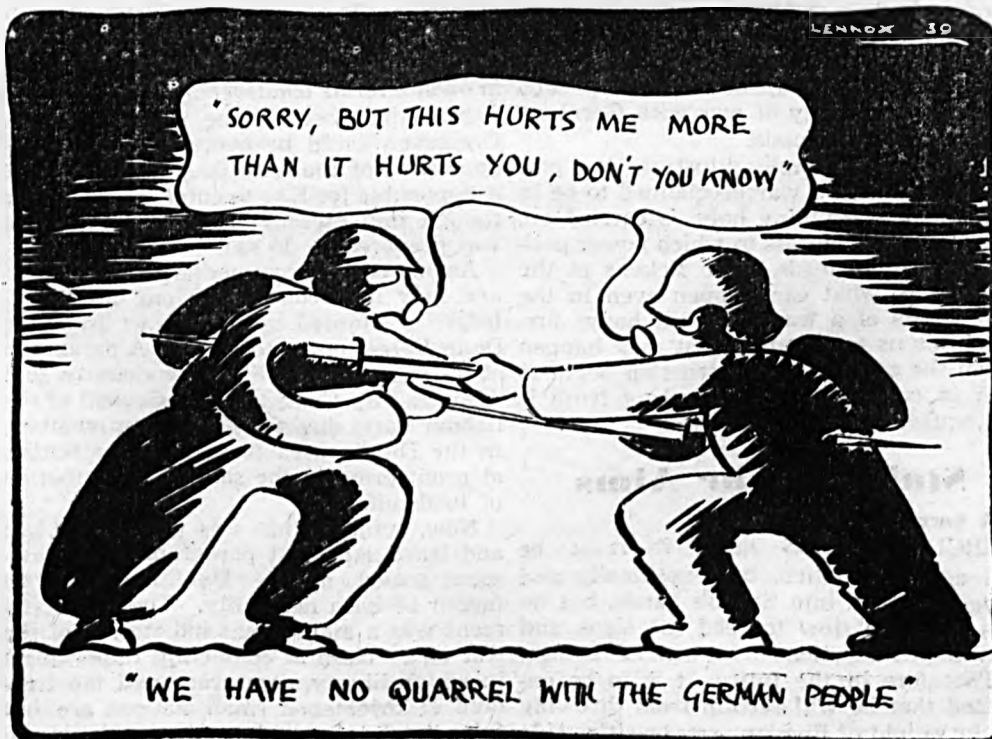
Most men and women have a dim instinctive awareness of its senselessness today. They feel, as they did not feel in 1914, that this war is a madness.

"We can be sure," said Daladier himself to Hitler a few days before it began, "that ruin and barbarism will be the sole victors."

No doubt there is, on the surface, an ideological and moral conflict between the Nazi system and the democracies. But we must not exaggerate it, or be deceived by it. Hitlerism is the professed enemy of tolerance and freedom of speech; democracy professes to defend them.

But already in France, the Communist Party—the least violent and most reason—

(Continued on page 12).



Comments on the News . . .

Wilfred Wellock writes:

NO action in which men engage more deeply arouses the passions, and in particular hatred and fear, than does war. For that reason the mental condition of a nation that is at war should be carefully watched. Hysteria plays strange tricks with the human mind, enables it to make statements which are in contradiction with the facts and which would not have been made in more normal conditions.

During the last ten days I have witnessed audiences fiercely defending statements which were not true, concerning issues of the most vital importance. Very often the errors are traceable to newspapers, which unfortunately are able to rely on short memories, uncritical minds, and a passionate desire to believe that one's country is always in the right.

One of these statements is that Britain has offered to make whatever sacrifices are necessary, in regard to Colonies, markets and raw materials, to satisfy Germany's just claims, and to lay the foundations of a peaceful Europe. It was almost universally made after Mr. Chamberlain's speech in reply to Hitler's peace offer, although it had no justification in that speech. Even Lord Halifax's Chatham House speech on June 29, came far short of offering justice to Germany. Yet the Co-operative newspaper, *Reynolds*, in its leading article on October 8, said:

"The policy . . . enunciated by Lord Halifax on June 29 . . . affirmed our resolve to end aggression, our willingness to pool our resources, including our Colonial resources, to promote the prosperity of a peaceful world."

That passage conveys the impression that Britain was ready to cede her sovereignty over her Colonies. But what did Lord Halifax actually say?

In regard to the Colonies he said that the present trade barriers might be "to a great extent abolished"; that in more favourable conditions we might be ready to make "wider application of the principles which now obtain in the mandated territories, including, in terms of reciprocity, that of the open door," and that if a better spirit prevailed H.M. Government would be ready to pool their best thought with others.

Why Hitler Fights

COMMENTING on this speech in its leading article on July 1, the *Daily Herald* said:

"We want from Lord Halifax now a clear statement of his proposals which will show that the British Government really means business."

"The Government should announce definitely that Britain is willing to put all her colonies under international mandate."

"END IMPERIALISM. World peace is at stake. It can only be saved if Britain and other 'satisfied' Powers are willing to renounce the old-fashioned, selfish type of imperialism."

Note the claim: peace can only be saved if Britain renounces her sovereignty over colonies. That is true. Yet the Labour Party and the *Daily Herald* go on supporting the Government and the war against Germany. What Hitler is fighting for is economic monopoly, or sovereignty over territory, in order to ensure his supplies of food and raw material—that is, such control as we exercise in our colonies. The former is necessitated by the latter.

Hence Mr. Attlee was careful to say in his speech on October 12, in support of Mr. Chamberlain's reply to Hitler's peace

Two Hundred Anglican Pacifist Priests

are still required to bring the number of priest members of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship up to five hundred and so justify a renewed approach to authority. We also need some thousands of new lay members.

There is no fixed subscription.

Holy Cross Vicarage,
47 Argyle Square, W.C.1.
(Terminus 4020)

Keep the Issues Clear What Will Stalin Do? Irish View of the War Colonies' Real Value

terms: "If Herr Hitler had wished it, he could have discussed problems of frontiers, colonies, raw materials and disarmament. He has chosen instead the path of violence and force."

This statement also gives the impression that Hitler could have had justice for the asking, yet note the word "discussed."

The fact cannot be escaped that if Hitler is to give up the idea of sovereignty, Britain must also do so.

I therefore welcome the resolution recently passed by the Scottish Council of the Labour Party asking the National Executive to draw up peace terms based on the Party's declared Colonial and Foreign policy, and in case the Government refuses to negotiate a peace on these terms, to appeal to the country.

Then let it be widely proclaimed that the Government has not stated its readiness to give up sovereignty in regard to Colonies; that the Labour Party has admitted that to take this step is a necessary condition of peace, and thus that the hindrances to peace are to be found in this country as well as in Germany.

Defence of Poland Myth

ANOTHER statement which the facts bring into question is that Britain is fighting for the freedom and integrity of Poland, &c.

If that statement be correct, why is the British Government silent about Russia, who is taking measures which will put many small Baltic States in thralldom? whose Pact with Germany made it possible for the latter to invade Poland? and who in fact is now in possession of nearly half of Poland? The Government persists in saying that Hitler is the sole cause of fear and unrest in Europe. Also, if I rightly understand Mr. Churchill's remarks in his recent broadcast speech, the Government is not disposed to dispute Russia's possession of the part of Poland she now occupies. His words were:

"We could have wished that the Russian armies should be standing on their present line as the friends and allies of Poland instead of as invaders. But that the Russian armies should stand on this line was clearly necessary for the safety of Russia against the Nazi menace. At any rate the line is there and an Eastern front has been created which Nazi Germany does not dare assail."

The meaning of those words, as every student of European politics knows, is that the Government desires to dissolve the Soviet-German Pact, which contains most ominous possibilities for the imperialist Powers, Britain and France. That Pact has placed the Balance of Power in Europe in Russia's hands, and so long as it remains there Western capitalism will not feel safe. Hence the anomaly of war with Germany and peace with Russia.

The above examples illustrate the processes by which a war proclaimed to be in defence of everything holy, is carried on, and reveal the morass to which power politics inevitably leads. One sickens at the thought of what can happen even in the first weeks of a war that still hangs fire. It causes us to wonder what may happen when the monsters of destruction begin to roar in earnest, and the torch of truth is extinguished in a sea of blood.

Stalin's War Aims

A correspondent writes:

CIRCUMSTANCES have, it must be admitted, fallen, both politically and geographically, into Stalin's hands, but he has not been slow to read the signs and turn their indications to his own advantage.

Therefore in the future it is to be expected that he will refrain from throwing in the weight of Russian arms on either side

in this conflict, and will on the other hand do his utmost to keep the two sides and their quarrel in being as long as possible.

Thus he will have the entertaining spectacle of at least three of his enemies steadily wasting away their strength in mortal combat, without himself having to do much more than sign an occasional treaty with the weaker side of the moment. All three of the fighting governments seem to overlook this act, and plunge madly on in their efforts to "win," without daring to think of what awaits them at the end of their efforts. Suppose Britain wins; it will be Stalin's business to see that Communism is established in ruined Germany, while he will at the same time undertake a reconstruction in other parts of Europe. It is ludicrous to suggest that the British Government will be able to persuade its people to fight a Russia which has not allowed itself to be in any way weakened by the strength-sapping struggle in the West. If the matter falls out like this Britain can consider herself lucky. Suppose Germany wins; what can Hitler hope to gain? Only so much as Stalin allows him, and that will be little indeed.

This theory supposes that Stalin will rest content with annexing the choicer and more suitable regions on the outskirts of his present boundaries. Perhaps, however, his ambitions extend further than such a rather inactive policy would carry him. It is useless to raise spectres and pretend they have any actual existence, but it would be even more useless, and dangerous, to ignore the frightening possibilities of the present situation. Whoever wins the present war, there will only be one other world power left unscathed—America. Even if America thought fit to make war on the growing power of Russia, it is not at present a geographical possibility. Hence it is only too clear that Stalin will be in an excellent position to make demands of Europe, without any risk of meeting serious opposition from the erstwhile World Powers of Britain, France, and Germany.

Eire's Attitude

Reginald Reynolds, who has just returned from Ireland, writes:—

THE Government of Eire would, it is generally considered, be prepared to come into this war but for two things. One is the question of Ulster. De Valera has hinted that "partition" is his principal grievance against Britain, and it is assumed that, if the Six Counties were ceded to Eire, De Valera would be prepared to abandon neutrality. But a more formidable obstacle stands in his way, and that is the opposition of the vast mass of Irish people coming in on any terms whatsoever. Thus it would appear that, even if the intransigence of Craigavon could be overcome, the united opposition of the Irish people would make it impossible for Eire to enter the war, even though the present Dublin Government was prepared to do so.

An interesting commentary on this fact, and how it is concealed from our knowledge, is afforded by an extract from the *Daily Herald* of September 7. A paragraph at the end of the Irish news announced that "Dublin City Constituencies Council of the Labour Party directed the Labour members in the Dublin area to report all attempts at profiteering in the sale and distribution of foodstuffs."

Now, actually that was part of the last and least important paragraph of a statement issued by the Dublin Council in favour of Irish neutrality. The full statement was a magnificent indictment of the war as a "clash of conflicting Imperialism in which liberty, democracy and the freedom of threatened small nations are but false catch-cries to lure the workers and

the common people into battle for their own destruction." This statement dissociated itself explicitly from the bargaining tone of De Valera's speech, in which he had explained his reasons for neutrality.

The Dublin Council declared that "irrespective of any adjustment which may take place in the matter of the partition of Ireland, it shall resolutely oppose any participation in the war which is causing so much misery, suffering and torture to the workers of Europe." Even the paragraph which the *Herald* quoted ended with an appeal for a campaign against investment in British War Loans! But that, of course, was left out like the rest.

These are but a few examples of the way in which Empire news is suppressed or misrepresented to give a suitable impression to the British public. Whilst warning all readers of *Peace News* against this tendency in the press and against possible attempts to bargain with colonial nationalism—as in India—for its support in war, I would like, in conclusion, to point out that the Stop the War Campaign will have no permanent value if it does not include these problems in its scope and raise the demand that peace shall and must be based upon universal self-determination.

Colonies in War-time

MR. MALCOLM MacDONALD, Colonial Secretary, let the cat out of the bag in his broadcast last Thursday.

It is often asserted that colonies are of little economic value to the governing nation. This contention seems to be supported by the report of the League Committee on Raw Materials, 1937, which declared that the total production of all commercially important raw materials in all colonial territories was no more than about three percent of world production.

Mr. MacDonald, however, said that the colonies were arsenals in which were produced many of the raw materials and foodstuffs which were no less potent instruments in modern warfare than were aeroplanes, guns, and shells.

Sinews of war were buried in colonial ground, he added, in the form of oil, tin, copper, gold and other prized minerals. No less important were some of the fruits of colonial soil, like rubber and sugar, vegetable oils and tea. The first war service of the colonies was to provide an adequacy of those vital supplies without which our factories and workpeople and fighting men could not thrive.

To a State at war—or even on a organized for war—colonies therefore seem to be of some importance. Small wonder that the rights of the inhabitants have always to take second place under the present system!

It has always been instructive to note that, despite attempts to deprecate the economic value of colonies, British statesmen have never advocated the return of the former German colonies (Not that that would be any contribution toward lasting peace—for it would be merely exchanging one form of overlordship for another.)

A solution of the colonial problem which gives the inhabitants the same right to self-development as other peoples, and which makes access to colonial products equally free for all nations (without exploitation of the producers), will prove the only satisfactory one.

They Renounce War Work—And Their Jobs

BECAUSE he feels that, as a conscientious objector, he cannot assist in the manufacture of gun-metal, the governing director of a private Birmingham metal firm has resigned and another company is to be formed to take over the business.

The director is Mr. H. Hilditch; his son has taken a similar step.

Mr. Hilditch, senior, won the Military Cross in the last war and reached the rank of captain. For the past thirteen months he has been speaking on behalf of the Peace Pledge Union.

In an interview with the *News Chronicle* his son said last week: "We felt that we could not support war and so decided to relinquish the business. A new company is being formed to take over the buildings and plant and we hope that customers will give it the same support."

A 1914-1918 Ex-Service Man says:

THEY TOLD ME ALL THAT LAST TIME!

By Ex-Private Jim Simmons
(late Worcester Regiment)

I HAVE been watching the young men drilling and route-marching and I know that many of them think they are doing a fine thing, that they are going to help to rid the world of the threat of war and make things so very much happier for the next generation of young men.

I have been listening to the wireless "News," to the talk of the man-in-the-street, and reading the newspapers; also I heard Mr. Churchill speak through the microphone and from all this I gather that "We must go on until we have smashed them this time," and that "this time" there must be no talk of peace until our "Tom-mies" get to Berlin." Peace talk now, I am told, is treason, for we cannot negotiate with a government whose hands are so stained with innocent blood.

Will the people never learn, will the Government propaganda machine always be able to direct their thoughts into channels that are safe for the powers-that-be?

Old, Old Story

SOMETIMES I rub my eyes and wonder if I am back again in the 1914-18 period when Asquith said: "We will never sheathe the sword until German militarism has been overthrown"; when the Kaiser was the "Mad Dog of Europe"; when the war was being fought as a "Crusade against an evil thing"; when the Germans were "baby-killers" and we declared that "We would never shake hands with the Hun again for his hands were dripping

with blood."

Yes, it all comes back: there is Churchill for Asquith and Hitler for the Kaiser. The phrases are a little different but it is the same stuff dressed to suit the fashion of the hour.

In view of the foregoing I think it is most important that we should remind public opinion of just what did happen in the last war and of the tragic aftermath of those happenings.

"Knock-Out Blow"

THE last war was continued for nearly two years after the period when peace would have been possible on the basis of our declared "War Aims" and the blockade of the German people was continued for several months after the signing of the Armistice.

It is important, in order to prevent public opinion being stampeded into accepting another war for the "Knock-Out Blow" followed by a "Versailles" peace, that we should remember just how complete was the "victory" of the Allies and how thoroughly the "guilty" enemy was crushed in 1919.

True, our armies did not march through Berlin—the Germans were spared that humiliation—but hunger, starvation and death, representatives of the post-war allied blockade on Germany, invaded the homes of the German people and snatched babies from their cradles.

At the conclusion of the fighting, because war had destroyed finer feelings and fake atrocity stories had worked the people up to a frenzy of hatred, it was possible to win an election on the cry "Hang the Kaiser and make Germany pay to the uttermost farthing."

Will History Be Repeated?

WE "Tom-mies" had no hatred in our hearts towards the Germans (the army of occupation found them by com-

parison more kindly and generous than the French).

We felt ashamed at the hysteria of our stay-at-home countrymen and those of us who had done some hard thinking during the night watches were appalled at the vicious severity of the Peace Terms, for we felt that they mocked the generous impulses that inspired us to serve our country and humanity.

Instead of reaping the fruits of the generous impulses of the ordinary soldier we are reaping the results of the greed of capitalist interests, the meanness of politicians and the ignorance of the electorate at the first post-war election.

Is history going to repeat itself? Having completed the vicious circle are we going to start going round it again? Is the black-out of our streets going to be followed by a black-out of reason?

The answer is yes—Unless... Unless we can get people to think for themselves and to realize that the best time to stop a war is before every decent impulse has perished in the fires of hate.

REAL PEACE NEWS from AMERICA:

Peace Workers Urge Neutral Mediation

AMERICAN peace organizations are developing a big campaign to mobilize public opinion in favour of neutral mediation in the war.

Despite divergences of opinion as to the best way to keep America out of hostilities, they are entirely united in asking the President to take the lead in setting up a continuing Mediation Commission of Neutrals which will work unceasingly to bring about a speedy, just and lasting settlement in Europe.

Neutrals' Aim

"It is known now in Washington," says *Peace Action*, journal of the American National Council for Prevention of War, "that this war was almost averted. It should have been and could have been by wiser statesmanship.

"It is the business of the sixty neutral nations... to set up a commission that will work patiently with representatives of the nations involved to achieve a settlement that will be so just to all nations of Europe that it will endure, not on anybody's word, but because it satisfies the peoples of Europe."

Shortly after the outbreak of war the National Peace Conference, the clearing house for 42 national peace organizations in the USA, unanimously adopted the

following peace programme:

1. Keep the United States out of war.
2. Initiate continuous commission of neutrals to mediate a just peace.
3. Work for permanent world government as the basis of permanent peace and security.
4. Prevent exploitation of war for private gain.
5. Recognize and analyze propaganda to prevent warped judgments and unjust animosities.
6. Strengthen American democracy through solving pressing domestic problems and vigorously safeguarding civil liberties.

As to the problems behind the war, *Peace Action* says:

"The World War, contrary to popular belief, has never come to an end. It has continued as an economic war, with military force retained by the victors to defend the Versailles Treaty and its status quo. Now military war has broken out again and threatens to engulf the whole world."

"A New Way Must Be Tried"

"THE very fact of this new war proves the tragic futility of the whole system in which nations pursue their own self-interest by militaristic and imperialistic force," says a statement issued by the National Conference of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

After a "warning against the tendency to fix the guilt for the present war upon some one nation or one individual of whom men make a personal devil," the statement adds:

"The Fellowship of Reconciliation is committed to the faith and conviction that there is a better way and that if men will commit themselves resolutely to that way, they may, even in the midst of chaos, build the foundations for the structure of a new world-order.

"The basis of our faith and conviction is the belief that God rules and that moral forces are both essential and ultimate in history. We believe, therefore, that when men attempt to hew out their destiny by the means of bomb and shell and economic power, or by any other of the means by which they do violence to their brothers, they bring upon themselves defeat and chaos."

The FOR goes on to make certain urgent recommendations as to American policy in the present situation.

They urge the American Government to take the initiative in consolidating a large bloc of neutral countries to offer continuous mediation in order to restore peace, to build it on just and firm foundations, and to establish the beginnings of political and economic co-operation after the war."

Believing that "the only hope that such a peace can come out of the war depends on having a significant bloc of nations not involved in the war," they "urge redoubled efforts to keep the United States out of the war."

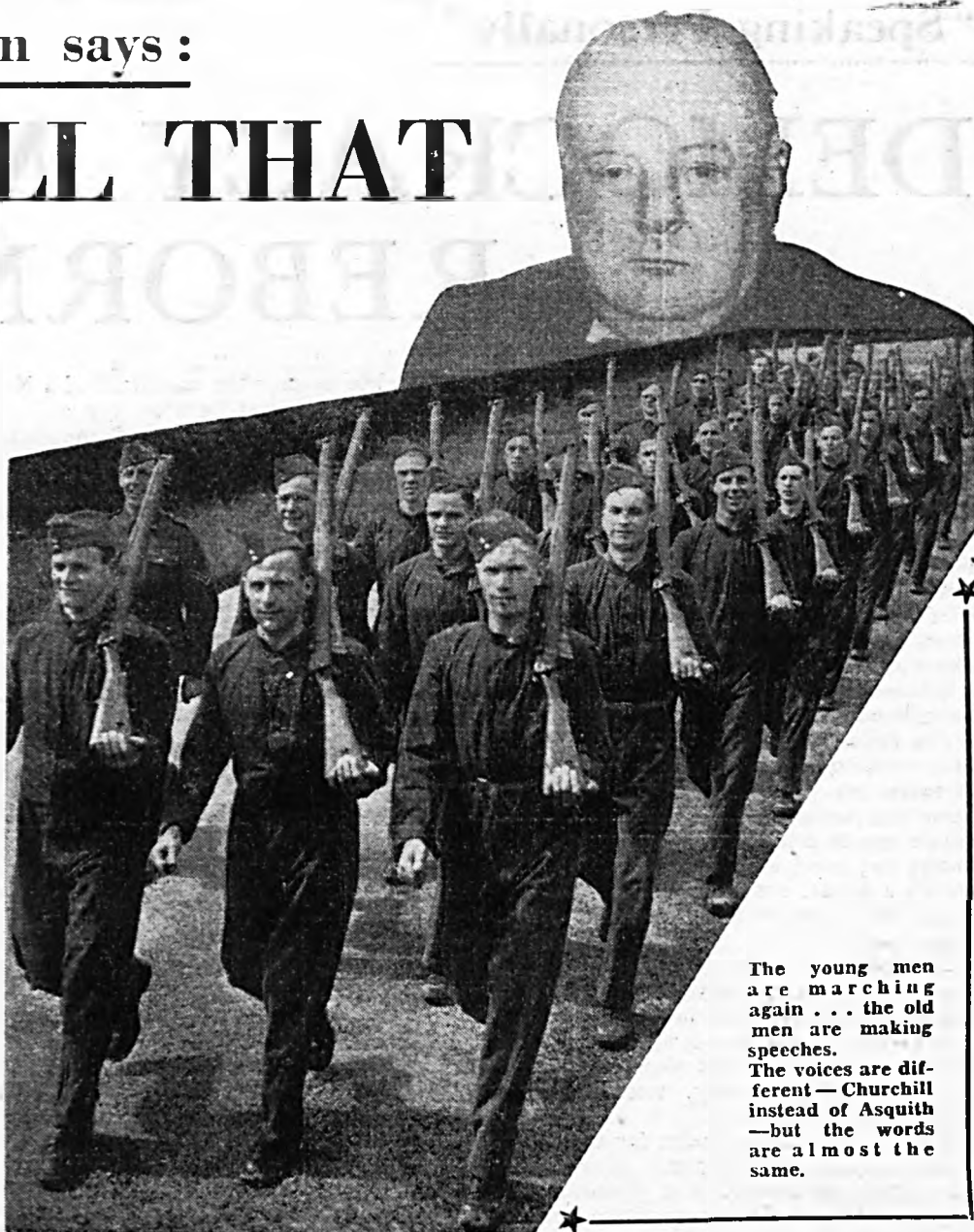
War Babies

A NEW YORK newspaper recently published a two-column story, each column of which had the above heading.

"One column dealt with the evacuation of children from London—these are your babies," writes an American correspondent; "the other told of the rise of the American stockmarket and prices generally—these bonds were our American 'War Babies,' and we should be thoroughly ashamed of them."

WALL STREET exists to make money and no sentimental considerations can be allowed to obscure this high purpose. The market goes up when Wall Street feels confident that the continuation of the war is going to bring further orders for steel and aeroplanes and rubber, and goes down whenever Wall Street has periodic uneasy doubts whether war orders will keep coming in.

—Robert Waittman in the *News Chronicle* on Friday.



The young men are marching again... the old men are making speeches. The voices are different—Churchill instead of Asquith—but the words are almost the same.

"Speaking Personally"

DEMOCRACY MUST BE REBORN

THESE has never been a time in the history of mankind when the common people of the world have desired peace more ardently than they desire it today.

In one sense the outbreak of war marked the close of an epoch in history. Four centuries ago Luther nailed up his protest on the church door at Wittenburg. It was more than a protest against a Church that had become the tool of the State. It was a witness to the Spirit of Man as it moved from bondage to freedom.

The Reformation was the point at which Individualism became the dominant note in social life. A new class was emerging from the background of history; a class which was to introduce into the scheme of things the good and evil that was latent within a feudal order but that could only establish their validity in competitive capitalism.

The good is obvious, it is the factor that has made man a fully conscious being capable of functioning in a truly democratic society. The evil is all around us in the diseased condition of society today. Its crop has been poverty, unemployment, wage-slavery and war.

The old wars were fought for territorial expansion and colonization. Wars today are fought to uphold and maintain the vested interests of a competitive capitalistic economy.

Birth of Society

IT was out of the conflict between these two forces that modern society came into being. The industrialization of the community led to the need for social consciousness. This consciousness, this awareness of the interdependence of mankind led to the liberal reforms of the Nineteenth Century, the philosophy of Marx and the dawn of socialism.

The supreme test to Marx of the social value of an idea was not in its philosophic subtlety but in its utility for communal life. Jesus had known the same thing almost twenty centuries earlier and had wisely stated that it was "By their fruits" that men's values were to be finally revealed.

The historical significance of the last war was that out of it a new impulse manifested itself in the social order, and that impulse was the idea of collectivism as opposed to the concept of selfish individualism. The USSR arose as a challenge to the old ideology of competitive capitalism and as a promise of the new order of co-operative socialism which must finally triumph if humanity were to prove worth of material salvation. In Italy and Germany we have also seen an attempt to place the emphasis upon man's value as a communal being rather than his importance as an isolated unit in an individualistic society.

The Emergence

THE CO in the last war was essentially an individualist. He recognized that society had been plunged into chaos, a chaos in which he could not take part. In the aftermath the new sense of social man emerged and the necessity arose for pacifism to take upon itself a social as well as individualistic significance. We are thus

Read the
**SOCIALIST CASE
AGAINST WAR in
"FORWARD"**
Every Friday 2d.
HONEST, FEARLESS, INDEPENDENT

Send postcard for sample copy to:
26, Civic Street, Glasgow, C.4.

Become a Non-Smoker
THE WAINLEY WAY!

Why not (a) Save £10 to £20 per annum?
(b) Improve and preserve your health?
Stop Smoking by the Wainley Method.
Incomparable. Drugless. Infalible.
WAINLEY NON-SMOKING COURSE,
87, Taggart Avenue, Liverpool, 16.

destined to become the vanguard of a New Society, but it must be a society and not a mere collection of isolated individual units lacking in any sense of spiritual integration.

Let us return for a moment to the post-war scene. Russia, striving to move towards communism, found herself forced to compromise with the surrounding capitalistic order and in so doing became a visible witness to the fact that you cannot establish socialism on a purely National basis

THIS is the first of two articles in our series "Speaking Personally," which is an open forum for the free expression of individual views on topics of current interest.

Previous contributors have included Lord Ponsonby, Max Plowman, Vera Brittain, Ethel Mannin, and Leonard Barnes.

but must link it with the challenge of World Revolution.

What is the position today? We see those countries that are rooted in social awareness moving towards some kind of unification. Russia and Germany have recently concluded pacts which establish this beyond cavil. Italy, also a collectivist country, has been postulated to act as mediator and, should her mediation fail, will in all probability line herself up with the Soviet and Nazi Germany.

In England and France we see the slow emergence of Totalitarianism. The citizen is not looked upon as a moral being but is merely noted as a possible cog in the war machine. Pacifism is called upon to struggle against this state of affairs, to say quite frankly not only "We will not fight," but also "We will not co-operate with the enslavement of man into State bondage."

It is our destiny in this hour to voluntarily sacrifice ourselves to the social idea, to become the upholders of liberty and the guardians of freedom. Our protest, unlike

Luther's, must be a social protest. It must be a witness to the coming of World Community.

by James Norbury

"We Must Resist"

PERSONALLY I feel that we are called upon as pacifists to organize ourselves into a communal whole, resisting at all points any attempt upon the part of the Government to infringe upon the moral liberty of the subject. I have not signed the National Register because I deny the right of any Government to presume that it can turn me into a numbered card in its war preparation. I shall refuse to sign the CO's register because I cannot accept the idea that any Tribunal has the right to pass judgment upon my moral convictions.

We must, as I see it, passively resist these infringements upon our personal freedom and organize ourselves into a communal movement struggling against the Government in its attempt to impose upon us a Totalitarian State.

The masses are all unconscious pacifists today. They may not be willing to sign a peace pledge but they will be willing to unite with us in a struggle to uphold and maintain their basic liberties.

What does all this imply? Surely the issue emerging out of the conflict that is going on all around us is that democracy is striving to become articulate. Our task is clear. When democracy finds its voice we must see that it demands from all Governments the coming into being of a World Society. That is the true revolution and means a radical change from the old idea of competitive capitalism to the new conception of social well-being.

If we resist the coming of social man we shall contribute to the worst holocaust that has ever engulfed humanity. We shall live to witness a complete relapse of the West into barbarism. If, however, we welcome this change, strive for it and do all in our power to make it possible we shall see a Revival of the Spirit of Man and through that revival the gradual rebirth of true democracy.

Next Article. THE REMAKING OF MAN.

What They Said About War...

No. 3

"Well, if you go into war now you will have more banners to decorate your cathedrals and churches... Then there may be titles, and pensions, and marble monuments to eternize the men who have thus become great; but what becomes of you and your country, and your children? For there is more than this in store..."

"I confess when I think of the tremendous perils into which unthinking men—men who do not intend to fight themselves—are willing to drag or to hurry this country, I am amazed how they can trifle with interests so vast, and consequences so much beyond their calculation."

—Extracts from a speech by the Rt. Hon. John Bright, MP, at Edinburgh on October 13, 1853.

... Is Still True

£45,000—to Persuade Ourselves to Fight!

YOU'VE seen those big posters—"Freedom is in peril, defend it with all your might."

(They may have reminded you of Dr. Goebbels' method of blaring his message with all the means of propaganda at his command; another case of Hitlerism being here already, in fact.)

So far, according to figures, they have cost £21,719, according to information given in Parliament last week. And the additional cost to the end of October, when the campaign ends, may be £23,000—a total of nearly £45,000.

In addition the Ministry of Information is helping to spend the revenue from increased taxes by sending out thousands of 22-page pamphlets containing documents and speeches which preceded the outbreak of war.

Mass Selling in Liverpool Tomorrow

There will be a mass selling of *Peace News* in Liverpool tomorrow (Saturday). Volunteers will meet at Lime Street from 3 p.m. onwards. A special appeal is made for men as well as women. The selling is a sequel to the Women's Peace March last week. (See picture, page 7.)

From the Editor's Notebook

After Clackmannan
Newcomers to Pacifism
Vera Brittain's Letter

WHILST there is no denying that the result of the Clackmannan by-election came, in the first instance, as a cold douche to pacifists everywhere, there are several considerations to be borne in mind as something much more than mere consolations.

For the most part, these are fully stated elsewhere by ANDREW STEWART himself—to whom, despite the figures, the pacifist movement owes not so much comfort as thanks for a grand effort and for all the work put in, which must be regarded as a sowing for others to reap.

Another important consideration, to which attention was drawn at Saturday's Peace Pledge Union Council meeting, is that even the worst defeat must not be allowed to frighten pacifists off the political (and in particular the electoral) field altogether. If, we were reminded, the socialists had been frightened off by their first, no doubt even more depressing, efforts, they would by now be quite forgotten.

A Suffolk member of the PPU, by the way, suggested to me while the Clackmannan campaign was still on, a scheme for what he felt would be a much more effective way to go about this job of putting our case before the electors.

It is that pacifists should select, say, half a dozen constituencies in various parts of the country regardless of whether an election was likely soon or not, and work continuously and patiently up to the next election—"nurse the constituency," in fact.

The idea, I gather, is to obtain the greatest effect with the greatest economy of resources.

Better Late than Never

A LETTER which we publish in this issue (on page 9) may serve to check

any tendency toward exasperation on the part of those who, having worked very hard and very often very long to make pacifists, now see people claiming, in comparatively large numbers and with apparent ease, that they have always been pacifists but that conscription and the war have just made them realize it.

If those people were not genuine, they would soon be found out and treated accordingly. Their very genuineness, however, adds to, rather than decreases the exasperation: for the overworked will naturally wish that the newcomers had lent a hand long ago.

But, as one of our tribunal reporters points out, many may well be genuine pacifists even though conscription or the war has led them to think about the subject only for the first time. A conviction must begin somewhere.

On the other hand, one can understand only too well how a tribunal of non-pacifists will regard (and how they are regarding) the unfortunate coincidence. But here again I would refer to MR. B. T. DARBY's letter on page 9.

He suggests that we shall find our new comrades among the most uncompromising opponents of war and all that it means. I would go further and suggest that that will, in fact, be the test of their genuineness.

The tribunals will, in effect, impose that test if, misjudging their sincerity, they give decisions that still conflict with the consciences of those who appear before them. Only the most uncompromising opponents of war will be strong enough to take the consequences of refusing to accept the decisions.

"Peace News" Offices
3 Blackstock Road
London, N. 4

THOSE who have already seen the first issue of VERA BRITAIN'S *Personal Letter to Peace-Lovers* will not be surprised to hear that she has been swamped with work arising from it and has had to engage a full-time secretary.

She tells me that subscriptions are coming in at the rate of 70 or 80 a day. Letters from innumerable people tell how lonely they feel in their communities and how they long for just such a personal message.

These only confirm the feeling, which came to MISS BRITAIN when (as she says in her first letter) her usual quota of letters from unknown correspondents started rapidly to increase with the German occupation of Prague, that such a letter would fulfil a need.

It is also encouraging that there are so many who are prepared to contribute the modest sum of 2s. 6d. to cover the bare cost for six months of sending a letter whose main purpose is "to try to keep alive, during a time of maximum strain, the decent values to which peace-lovers subscribe."

One of the greatest of these values is freedom of expression. As one whose chief interest is vested in freedom of expression, I personally hope MISS BRITAIN'S letter will be given full support.

In the first place, it will, I am sure, always uphold that principle, come what may. And it may well come to be one of the few means of upholding it in print. For it must come as near to avoiding giving offence to the Censor, while at the same time really serving a purpose useful to

(Continued on page 8)

"Tightening Up" at C.O.s' Tribunals

SOME FORM OF SERVICE ORDERED FOR MOST APPLICANTS

TTRIBUNALS for conscientious objectors to conscription met in London and Newcastle last week and in Glasgow on Monday.

Reports from observers make it clear that there has been a general tightening up in the treatment of COs. In Newcastle this reached a climax with the much publicized statement by the chairman (referred to in our Stop Press last week) that Christ would support this war if on earth today. This was followed by an unqualified apology from the chairman on the following day, when a different spirit prevailed.

While the tribunals seem intent on ordering some form of service for practically every applicant, they are, nevertheless, trying to be fair. But the fact remains that their understanding of the pacifist case (particularly as presented by men of only 21, who often lack experience in expressing themselves) is bound to be affected by preconceived ideas. Though in any case it is impossible for a tribunal to judge a man's conscience.

The following comments on the tribunal's attitude have been compiled from reports from observers who were present.

London Tribunal's Irrelevant Questions

THE London Tribunal (writes an observer who attended on Wednesday of last week) is not harsh.

The real objection to the proceedings is that the tribunal, perhaps unintentionally, seeks to produce an expression of conscience at an intellectual level far beyond the reach of most applicants by asking such questions as "Are you against authority, then?" Most applicants had no notion of the implications of such a question and forthwith collapsed.

Nonetheless, many of them probably had genuine scruples, although they were not capable of giving them lucid conscious expression.

Irrelevant Arguments

It is regrettable that conscientious objectors allowed themselves to be drawn into such arguments when they were there to testify to their sincerity and not to their intelligence. This point cannot be too strongly stressed.

At Glasgow on Monday applicants were repeatedly asked whether they were sure their objection was based on conscientious grounds. In one case the applicant was supported by Andrew Stewart, who asked the tribunal whether they had their own definition of "conscience." How could they determine whether or not a man was telling the truth, he asked.

The Sheriff Principal made the evasive answer: "We may have been given a very difficult and invidious task, but we discharge it to the best of our ability." (The applicant in question was the tenth to appear on Monday morning, and he was the first to be granted complete exemption.)

Following are points of interest concerning the procedure at the London tribunal: In several cases non-combatant service was specified as RAMC or Army Pay Corps, although the tribunal has no power to specify the form of duty.

One applicant (Mr. B. Davies), whose case has already received publicity in the press, made a very long statement which included many questionable remarks concerning tribunals in general. It is to the credit of the tribunal that the rudeness of Davies' statement did not interfere with the justice of their decision. Davies was obviously sincere. He was ordered to find work as an agricultural labourer within one month.

"Christian" Argument

One member of the tribunal, Alderman Marshall, has frequently asked applicants whether Christ would not alleviate pain and suffering, and whether he would particularize between soldiers and civilians; and whether he would object to working with others and thus being organized. When applicants have agreed, it has been pointed out that they can therefore have no objection to working with the RAMC—although, as already pointed out, the tribunal cannot specify any particular form of non-combatant work.

One applicant allowed Alderman Marshall to lead him as far as non-combatant service by means of this argument, but at the end contended that the little good done by the RAMC was swallowed up by the total evil of the war. His uncompromising attitude was directly responsible for a decision that he should undertake agricultural work.

An extreme case of a man being already engaged on war work was provided by an applicant who was an aircraft fitter working on the production of bombers. When Sir James Baillie asked: "You are working for the war?" he replied, "I have to have a job somewhere." His name was removed unconditionally from the conscientious objectors' register.

It is interesting to note that when, on Tuesday of last week, an applicant said he would do land work under the Pacifist Service Bureau a member of the tribunal said they did not recognize any such body. Two days later, however, another applicant was registered as a CO on con-

dition that he joined the Friends' Ambulance Unit (another "unofficial" body) as soon as possible.

He had told the tribunal that the FAU did not only take members of the Society of Friends, though such members were taken first.

Parental pressure was apparent in the case of a young man who had registered as a CO, and later waived his objection in a letter asking for transfer to the military service register. Later still he wrote again, asking for re-instatement as a CO. Although our observer considers he was obviously sincere, the tribunal held that conscientious objection was not maintained.

In the cases where applicants were ordered to do agricultural work, the tribunal stipulated that such work should be obtained within one month. One wonders how this will affect men who have decided to appeal against the tribunal's decision, if their appeal is not heard within a month.

Bias Shown at Newcastle

THE remark of the chairman of the Newcastle Tribunal referred to above was chiefly significant for the biased attitude it indicated, for it was by no means an isolated instance.

The chairman did not understand the actual position in which the applicant was placed. The questions were undoubtedly calculated to obtain some kind of admission that some form of Army work was acceptable and, if not, to make it appear unreasonable for the applicant to refuse it.

No greater contrast could exist than between the two days preceding the chairman's outburst and the two days which followed. This was entirely due to the demonstration which his remark evoked—and which took place spontaneously despite a warning circulated by the Newcastle and District Advisory Bureau against expressions of approval or disapproval by members of the public.

There were extenuating circumstances on both sides.

The unfortunate applicant whose case was being heard at the time of this outburst had his name removed from the Register of Conscientious Objectors and placed on the Military Service Register for non-combatant duties and, although there was obviously further evidence to be heard, the Judge, in his anger, refused to listen to anything further.

The entire change of atmosphere on the third day was illustrated by the fact that during the first two days there were only three unconditional exemptions whilst on the third day only there were four.

The tribunal seemed to be unable to grasp that an applicant could be a conscientious objector without necessarily having religious views and only two of several such applicants were registered on the Conscientious Objectors' Register after very detailed inquiry. In each case a vegetarian diet seemed the deciding factor!

The tribunal unashamedly wanted some things both ways. For example, in many cases it was said, "But surely you would be prepared to help to relieve pain and suffering." If the applicant replied "no" he was hard-hearted and anti-Christ, yet another applicant who was at a First Aid post in order to relieve suffering, having left more remunerative work to do so, was placed on the Military Service Register for non-combatant service, whereas, from the writer's personal knowledge, this was clearly a genuine conscientious objection.

Here it is interesting to note the Judge's ruling that Air Raid Precautions was an essential part of the military machine.

Of many applicants who did not approve the method of war the Judge asked "How do you propose to stop Hitler following up his persecution of the Czechs and Poles?"—many

could not reply, others said by trust and love, to which the Judge retorted "But Mr. Chamberlain has tried that already." The wisest answer seemed to me to be that of a Quaker who replied that he was not there to propound a national policy, but he believed all such policies should be based on Christian principles.

Recent Converts

It was clear in many cases that the introduction of conscription had started many boys thinking on pacifist lines for the first time. All such thought has to have a beginning, but the tribunal seemed to regard anyone who had started thinking on these lines since the Munich Crisis as being a shirker and without exception such applicants were placed on the Military Service Register usually without qualification. Instead of it being a help, it usually seemed a hindrance to an applicant to have a friend (other than a parent) who, holding pacifist views, would testify to the applicant's sincerity. Where the friend gave the same testimony but was admittedly not a pacifist the tribunal in every instance seemed to attach great value to the evidence.

Perhaps the worst case of all was where one applicant expressed sympathy with German claims, but was unable to express to the Judge why he did so. It was singularly unfortunate that this lad was an electrician and had just come from mine-sweeping tests on which work he was getting an exceptionally good wage. The tribunal put him on the Military Service Register without qualification and instructed the Clerk to inform his employers of his German sympathies and the risk of sabotage! This was surely outside the jurisdiction of the tribunal and was yet another example of its inability to appreciate a perfectly harmless point of view.

Following is an analysis of the tribunal's decisions:

| | |
|--|----|
| Registered unconditionally on the COs' Register | 8 |
| Registered on the COs' Register on condition the applicant remains in his present employment | 16 |
| Registered on the COs' Register on condition of acceptance of work of national importance, to be specified later by the tribunal | 30 |
| Removed from the COs' Register and placed on the Military Service Register for non-combatant duties only | 17 |
| Removed without condition from the COs' Register and placed on the Military Service Register | 16 |
| Exempt under Section 11 of the Military Service Act | 1 |

In four cases, in the third category above, the condition of exemption was that the applicant joined the Friends' Ambulance Unit or similar organization.

In the circumstances the number of unconditional exemptions was fairly satisfactory.

"Cat-and-Mouse" Treatment For Pacifist Ex-Soldier

FURTHER information received by a Peace News correspondent makes it clear that Mr. L. J. Daventry, the ex-Serviceman who is serving a court-martial sentence for refusal to report for further military training, is likely to suffer a "cat-and-mouse" treatment similar to that which befell conscientious objectors during the last war.

Letters received by our correspondent from Mr. Daventry's mother show that when Mr. Daventry has served his 56 days' sentence he will be ordered to fight again; on refusal he will be tried again and the whole business gone through a second time, and the sentence doubled.

It is believed that there is a possibility of bread and water diet being ordered on the second occasion. Mrs. Daventry has been told by soldiers who went through the last war that her son might even be sent abroad for punishment, where he would stand the chance of being shot for disobedience.

COs Who Disobey.

The growth of Mr. Daventry's pacifist convictions, as told by his mother, leaves no room for doubt that he is sincere.

For this reason it is difficult to see what results the military authorities hope to achieve by a continuation of punishment. While it is not generally expected that actual soldiers who become conscientious objectors will be treated with any consideration by the authorities, it is worth recalling that the National Service (Armed Forces) Act makes special provision for COs who, after being sent into a non-combatant branch of the army, may refuse orders for conscientious reasons. If, in such cases, it is found that orders were disobeyed on conscientious grounds, a tribunal may recommend discharge from the army when the court-martial sentence has been served.

On the grounds of justice Mr. Daventry would seem entitled to a similar treatment. The present prospect of repeated court-martials has not shaken his conviction.

Notes for C.O.s — and an Idea for Advisory Bureaux

TOMORROW is registration day for the men who, on October 1 last, were over 20 but under 22.

A National Joint Advisory Bureau leaflet, informing men of their right to be put on the provisional register of conscientious objectors, and also of the existence of the Bureau, has been published for distribution outside Labour Exchanges on registration days. There is room for the address of the local bureau to be stamped in.

It may be still possible to get copies for use tomorrow by phoning Euston 5501, or calling at 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. The price is 6d. per 100.

Other assistance is contained in the following notes, which are substantially those produced, in stencilled form, by the Manchester Advisory Committee for Pacifists, and which are here reproduced not only for the benefit of intending COs but also for that of other local bureaux which may not yet have evolved a complete and efficient system.

These notes, which (as the last few lines of them indicate) are sent or given to pacifists in conjunction with forms enabling them to give information on which further guidance can be based, would be well worth copying by others desiring to help COs. For purposes of immediate application, the dates which are relevant to tomorrow's registration have been inserted, but as new age groups are called up other dates could be inserted, together with the details [appearing here in square brackets] which are relevant to the local bureau.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR PACIFISTS
(A Joint Committee to assist all Conscientious Objectors.)
[Address] [Date]

Dear Friend,

Notes to men born on or after Oct. 2, 1917 and on or before Oct. 1, 1919, who intend to stand as Conscientious Objectors.

The recent Royal Proclamation will affect you as follows:—

1. If you have already registered (either under the Military Training Act, 1939, or under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939), you are not required to register again.

2. Otherwise, the law requires that you go and register on 21st October, 1939, at any Labour Exchange. If you live more than six miles from a Labour Exchange you may register by post. If for some other reason you are unable to register on that day, you must do so as soon as possible afterwards.

3. If you fail to register, you become liable to a fine of up to £5, and if the authorities think that you may be a CO they have power to register you provisionally in the Register of Conscientious Objectors.

4. Before answering any questions or signing any forms, state that you are a Conscientious Objector. You should then be given a special form for COs.

5. If you can, take your National Registration Identity Card and Unemployment Book (if any). You may be required to give your name and home address, and to state whether married or single, your present (or, if unemployed, your last) employment, and usual occupation.

6. On registering as a CO you will be handed two forms:—

A postcard "Certificate of Provisional Registration in the Register of Conscientious Objectors." Keep this certificate safely, and if you lose it apply immediately for a duplicate. If you later change your home address or name you must fill in the new particulars and post the form back; otherwise you may be fined up to £5.

A foolscap form of "Application to Local Tribunal" which must be completed and posted to the address which will be shown, to be received there by the date indicated, which will be fourteen days after registration. (A certificate of posting may be obtained at a Post Office for a halfpenny.) If you fail to return this form in time, your name may be removed from the Register of Conscientious Objectors, and you would become liable for full military service (unless you have some special excuse).

7. In due course you will receive notice to appear before a Local Tribunal. Although this notice will probably not be sent to those in reserved occupations, they must follow the full procedure outlined above. As soon as you receive such notice to appear before a Local Tribunal, please let me have full details.

Your careful attention to the enclosed request for particulars required by this Committee will be much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

[Secretary]

DARE WE BREAK THE VICIOUS CIRCLE?

FOR some of us it is easier to believe in the Christian theology than in the Christian ethic.

A generation ago many were saying: WE cannot believe your Christian ideas of God, but the ethical principles of Jesus are the hope of the world.

Today, however, it is the ethical principles of Jesus that are difficult. By the Christian ethic is meant no mere ordinary, humane decency, loving those who love us, but rather the radical, sometimes incredible, demands of Jesus that we love our enemies; that if smitten on the one cheek we turn the other also; or if compelled to go one mile we go two instead; that we do good to those who hate us and pray for those who despitefully use us and persecute us. There is the rub today.

The reason for this is the extraordinary vividness with which a powerful temptation assails us all, the temptation to resist evil with evil.

In war, if one side uses poison gas, the other side may at first be horrified; but in the end we all succumb. It takes poison gas to fight poison gas.

If one side uses conscription, which is the essence of dictatorship, the other side, being a democracy, at first is shocked, but in the end copies the technique of the enemy. It takes conscription to fight conscription.

In personal relationship we are habitually tempted to meet bad temper with bad temper, resentment with resentment; and in all this we are morally sustained because we think we are resisting evil—as, indeed, we are, but with evil.

★

IN the first place, how can the vicious circle of evil answered by more evil, answered by more evil still, ever be broken unless, somewhere, someone refuses to go on with it?

Watch this vicious cycle of wrong answering wrong. Bitterness is fought with bitterness, hatred with hatred; the process is afoot everywhere, from international relationships to personal relationship. where we say: "He has been unjust—I will show him. I will pay the devil in his own coin."

The Christian ethic would say that the world's feud can never end, the vicious circle of wrong answering wrong come to a close until, somewhere, somebody refuses to go on with it. This, of course, is what the pacifist at their best are driving at with reference to war.

An Anthology of Peace and War

Arranged by Vincent Long

George Leinhos

AN Austrian soldier, writing to his parents during the autumn of 1914:

Out here in Flanders we have to endure not only ghastly and terrible things but unspeakable and inhuman things, so that a man shuts his eyes and forgets he is a Christian.

G. J. Heering

ONE sometimes has no choice but to work either for the existing form of society against that of the future, or for the future against the existing form. For the man who has a vision of God's coming day, there cannot be a moment's doubt how the choice should fall. But it is just that man, if, too, he has any scholarship, who is most painfully aware of the lack of a Christian sociology (including, of course, a doctrine of the State), an acknowledged Christian ethic which, while giving more room and opportunity to Christian principle, looks out toward a still more Christian future. The ineffectiveness of Christianity is to be explained, very largely, by the absence of a sociology effective for our times.

—The Fall of Christianity.

— Harry Emerson Fosdick —
recalls "a new and revolutionary ethic"
— nearly 2,000 years old

The most shameful aspect of our present international situation, is the way we ape our enemies. The dictatorships say War, so we say War. They build vast armaments, so we build vast armaments. What apes we are! We fight evil with evil and become the evil that we fight.

All this we do, thinking Jesus to be a visionary idealist. He is not. His ethic shows a more realistic insight into what is going on in the modern world than does our boasted hard-headedness.

★

THE people of all nations in their hearts and homes want peace. Somewhere, some time, millions of men and women must stand up and cry: "We're through! We will not go on for ever with war causing war, causing more war still."

The strange man of Galilee whom many call a visionary idealist is still asking with infinite sorrow, "How can Satan cast out Satan?"

Do we really want to cast out Satan? Do we most of all desire to get rid of the evil in the world?

Multitudes of people want something else altogether—their own prestige, their gain and profit, their vengeance even, or their private conquest. Of course, to such, Jesus' ethic is preposterous. Above all else Jesus wanted to rid the world of its evil. Whatever it cost, whether it brought him to the cross or no, somehow to rid the world of its evil was His passionate desire.

If that is what a man wants, then evil is not an instrument to use.

★

WHEN a man does wrong it is as though he flew unwittingly a flag of distress and uttered a cry for help. There is a need to be met, a deep want in this man's life, an evil that, by good will, perchance you may help to cure.

If someone says that this ethic is risky, that it is bound to cost sacrifice and when used on some people is sure to fail, I answer—Of course it is.

During the last blizzard a woman living on a branch of the Ohio river saw a poor dog drifting on the icefloes and, touched with pity, ran to the stream, with difficulty launched her boat, fought for two hours

before she reached the dog, and brought him to safety. Then he bit her and she died of rabies.

There are human curs like that. Of all men in history, do you think Jesus did not know it? But he would say, "Take it any way you will, human life is risky; the salvation of the world depends upon men and women who will take this risk, to face ill will with good will, to try to break the vicious circle of evil's sequence."

★

DID we not fight a war to make the world safe for democracy? We were resisting evil: conscription to make the world safe for democracy; poison gas, blockades that starved millions to make the world safe for democracy. So we woke up to find the world less safe for democracy than it had been for generations. Satan cannot cast out Satan.

Jesus went out, I think, determined, though he died for it, to introduce into the world a new and revolutionary ethic—meet ill will with good will, dare to break the vicious circle of evil answering evil, never fight wrong with wrong.

The salvation of the world depends upon the multiplication of people who understand and practise that adventurous ethic.

(The above is the essence of a sermon delivered by Dr. Fosdick in New York February of this year).

The Editor's Point of View

HOW TO END THE WAR

WHATEVER the rights and wrongs of any or all of the many aspects of this particular war, and however it may develop, war as such remains wrong and futile.

Let that be kept clearly in mind, whatever happens, so that, whatever does happen, those who have once seen the truth of that will not allow the shifting scene and persuasive arguments to shift them from their ground of renunciation of war.

Wrong and Futile

If we are "up against" the deep and sincere conviction on the part of most people that Hitler cannot be trusted, what of it?

Does it make war right all of a sudden, without any change in its character—except perhaps for the worse? Does it make it right to kill Germans other than Hitler—Germans whom the mistrusters of Hitler are generally the first to declare are Hitler's victims?

If it is protested that we must first end Hitlerism, what of that?

Does it make the futile method of war—a method proved to be futile—suddenly less futile, without any change in its character? If the last war to end the German menace failed to prevent Hitlerism, why must we so blindly trust another war to do better?

★

YET the plea that "we cannot trust Hitler" does in fact stand in the way of the ending of the war now.

Mr. Middleton Murry, in his article on another page, sets an admirable example in facing up to this issue. Granting that we cannot trust Hitler, he points out that "neither—after Versailles—can Hitler trust us."

His conclusion shines like a beacon in the darkness of uncertainty that gathers round the ordinary folk who never know what political somersault the world's statesmen may perform next.

Pointing out that, if we expect a guarantee that Hitler will keep his word, so does Hitler expect a similar one of us, he concludes: "The only possible guarantee is that of a power beyond us both."

No Other Way

Let us fix our eyes on that beacon—as well as on the one that shows us still that war is wrong and futile. To do so need

not necessarily lead us to Mr. Murry's interpretation of "a power beyond us both."

Nor need a different interpretation prevent our proclaiming, with him, "Establish that guarantee, and Hitlerism is destroyed. There is no other way to destroy it."

Whatever the full meaning of "Hitlerism" may be, the "Hitlerism" that the people of this country fear and are therefore desirous of ending is the continual threat of German aggression—ultimately against this country. Fantastic as that fear no doubt is, what threat there may be can only be destroyed by "a power beyond us both."

★

WHAT precise form that power should take is of comparatively little importance at this stage, so long as it is a power, and so long as it is beyond the limits at least of German and British power if not of the power of every sovereign State at first.

Where many will undoubtedly feel uneasy about Mr. Murry's interpretation is in the apparent assumption that a mere police force is such a power. No doubt, however, he does not profess to have given a complete picture of the peace that he believes can only be negotiated on the basis of his two conditions.

In any case, it is only fair to point out that it is the negotiations that are the essential thing and that both the "air-police" suggestion and "the restoration of a Polish Poland and a Czech Bohemia" are only the conditions which Mr. Murry feels are necessary to make those negotiations possible.

Power of Co-operation

But if Hitlerism is really to be destroyed by "a power beyond us both," it must be by the emergence from those negotiations of a power that arises from the organization and the life of Europe (if not of the world) on a co-operative basis that goes far beyond the limited interests of the sovereign States of Germany, Britain, and the rest to the interests of mankind as a whole.

If that kind of power—the power of co-operation, of common human interest—is made the basis of the peace, the question of what kind of international police, if any, should be maintained can safely be left to solve itself. For at least there would never be any more wars for it to try to suppress.

In providing for the life of mankind (and all that that involves) lies the supernatural power that will guarantee peace, not in ensuring the death of men who are driven to use force to provide for their own needs.

Humphrey S. Moore

Lecture Courses entitled "WORLD RECONSTRUCTION"

will be conducted by

JAMES AVERY JOYCE
at the following L.C.C.

Literary Institutes

1939-40 session begins this week.

DALSTON and Highbury
High Street School, Stoke Newington,
N.16.—MON., 6.30 to 8.30.

MARYLEBONE
The Grammar School, 248 Marylebone
Road, N.W.1.—TUES., 6.30 to 8.30.

CITY
Stukeley Street, Drury Lane, Holborn,
W.C.2.—WED., 11.15 to 12.45.

CITY
Class to be held in W.C.1 or W.C.2
district. Apply as above.—WED.,
5.30 to 7.30.

BEC and CLAPHAM
Henry Thornton School, South Side,
Clapham Common, S.W.4.—THURS.,
2.30 to 4.30 and 6.30 to 8.30.

MARYLEBONE
The Grammar School, 248 Marylebone
Road, N.W.1.—FRIDAY, 6 to 8.

Fees are low. Intending students
should apply to Principal of Institute
nearest their home or office; or send
post-card for syllabus. Extracts:—

What is International Law?—Contra-
band and Neutrality—the Power and
Limits of Propaganda—the Breakdown
of the Versailles System—Can Com-
munism and Fascism live together?—
Framework of an ordered Society, etc.

Call for an Armistice and Peace Conference

AS we went to press this week the "Stop-the-War" demand was still growing, despite the fact that the Premier's reply to Hitler had been hailed in many quarters as a firm "No."

Is Still Growing...

The growing feeling that the war should be stopped and that an attempt should be made to settle Europe's problem round the conference table is being voiced in statements from peace organizations, from trade unions, church members, and private individuals.

It is therefore untrue to suggest—as some newspapers have attempted to do—that the call comes from a handful of pacifists. The view that now is the time to make peace is not confined to them, as will be seen from the reports which we print below and on page 11.

ARMISTICE URGED IN CALL TO BISHOPS

A RESOLUTION sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to five Bishops by Midland members of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, asked them to do everything possible "to secure that Herr Hitler's proposals are accepted as affording an opportunity for an armistice, and at least a minimum basis for an international conference."

The resolution also declared:

"We... reaffirm—

"1. Our conviction that our membership in the Church involves the complete repudiation of modern war; and

"2. Our pledge to take no part in war, but to work positively for the construction of Christian peace in the world. We must therefore dissociate ourselves from the frequently expressed contention that force can only be met by force."

Resolutions were also sent to the Prime Minister and to Lord Halifax, making the same re-affirmation, and continuing: "Being convinced that the best prospect of establishing world peace is afforded by a conference and not by a fight to a finish, we urge you to accept the opportunity (however slender it may appear to be) offered by Herr Hitler's proposals, of securing an armistice and an international conference."

The resolutions were adopted at a conference of about fifty members of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

Appeal for a Fresh Start

THE national press has not entirely suppressed the views of those who urge peace talks now, and a few letters on this theme have appeared.

One such letter, signed by seventeen well-known people (including some pacifists) was published in the *News Chronicle* last Thursday. The writers declared:

"Hitler clearly can only be deposed from within. To win the support of the German people we must show ourselves at least willing to listen to terms of peace from whatever quarter they come. If they be unacceptable, we must be ready with counter-proposals."

"These should be generous and constructive but safeguarded by appropriate conditions. To end the present anarchy of rival sovereign states full scope should be given for the free expression of national culture within a federal constitution."

"The situation has been radically altered by Russia's entry into Poland. Let us seize this opportunity for doing now what we should have done long ago—acknowledge the errors of Versailles and make another beginning with a newly defined Poland and Czecho-Slovakia."

"All the Governments concerned should agree to call a truce and give judicial consideration in conference to these delicate issues."

The signatories were Gerald Bailey, Clive Bell, Vera Brittain, Enid Charles, Ruth J. Egerton, Hugh I.A. Fausset, A. Ruth Fry, R. Ruggles Gates, Dorothea Gibb, T. Edmund Harvey, D. Caradoc Jones, H. E. Karl Jordan, James Avery Joyce, L. C. Martin, John Middleton Murry, H. M. Tomlinson, and E. B. Verney.

Malden Anti-War Meeting

The following resolution was passed unanimously at a meeting of the Malden branch of the No Conscription League last week:

"This meeting, held under the auspices of the Malden No Conscription League, viewing with horror the contemplated continued slaughter of men, women and children, and believing that war itself breeds the very evils that the Government claims to wish to destroy, calls for the war to be brought to an immediate close."

Wilson's 14 Points As Basis For A Conference

A CONFERENCE for the settlement of European problems on the basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points is suggested in a statement signed by 28 prominent people and issued by the British Council for Christian Settlement in Europe.

The statement declares:

"1. We do not know of any reasonable objective that would justify the continuance of the war at a cost of millions of lives."

"2. We are not satisfied that the present war, and the issues from which it has sprung, are solely due to one nation or to one man."

"3. We are not satisfied that the Government was justified in pledging this country to maintain in Eastern Europe a status quo which statesmen of all countries and all parties have condemned as unjust."

"4. We are satisfied, either as Christians or loyal British subjects, that it is as wrongful to maintain by force the unjust provisions of Versailles as it is to attempt to overthrow them by force."

"5. We are satisfied that if the present war is fought out until one side or the other attains a decisive victory there will be no likelihood of a just and durable peace."

"6. We earnestly urge His Majesty's Government immediately to take the initiative in expressing their willingness to attend a conference between France, Britain, Russia, Germany and Italy, when the questions at issue shall be settled peacefully on the basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points."

Pacifists Among Signatories

The statement is signed by:

Dr. Meyrick Booth; John Beckett; A. E. Carroll; Capt. R. Gordon-Canning, M.C.; Earl of Darnley (in principle); Ruth Fry; Mary Gamble; Eric Gill; Ben Greene, J.P.; Laurence Housman; F. C. T. Halliday, J.P.; Dean Inge; Professor A. P. Laurie; Canon Lomax; B. N. Langdon-Davis; Earl of Mar; Stormont Murray; H. St. John Philby; Sir Alliot Verdon Roe; Sir Hugh Robertson; Rev. Donald Soper; R. R. Stokes, M.P.; Lady Stalbridge; Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, C.H.; The Marquis of Tavistock; Henry Williamson; Hugh Ross Williamson; and Dr. Maude Royden.

[The Fourteen Points were put forward by President Wilson, of the USA, on January 8, 1918, as the essential bases of peace. They were accepted by Germany, which agreed to complete disarmament under the terms of the Armistice. When the terms of the Treaty of Versailles subsequently became known, it was clear that the Fourteen Points had been ignored. Even at the time the action of the victorious Powers was described as one of the greatest betrayals of history.]

Call to Labour Leaders

"Perturbed by imperialist war aims," the Renfrew Labour Party in a resolution adopted last week urged the Labour leaders to "terminate their complacent toleration and support of the Chamberlain Government."

The resolution also called on them to stop all participation in the Government's imperialist war aims, and to call an immediate halt to "this sacrificial gamble of reaction."

DEMANDS FROM SCOTLAND

A manifesto issued last week by the Scottish Council of Christian Pacifist Groups suggested that an attempt should be made to utilize any proposal the Nazi Government may make to initiate a peace conference.

The Government was asked to take immediate steps toward calling an armistice and a conference of all nations to discuss the restoration of peace in a resolution adopted by the quarterly meeting of the Scottish Peace Council.



Headed by its organizer, Miss Mary Taylor, this peace procession by women attracted much attention as it marched through Liverpool on Saturday afternoon.

Miss Taylor recently completed a lone peace pilgrimage, bearing similar slogans from Liverpool to London.

A peace procession by London women will take place on Tuesday. (See page 10.)

... but so, too,

Is Interference With Pacifist Propaganda

SIGNS are growing that the authorities are becoming concerned at the effect of pacifist propaganda.

The detailed report on "defeatist propaganda," which Scotland Yard's Special Branch has submitted to the Home Office is, as we pointed out in our Stop Press last week, a tribute to the growing strength of the "Stop-the-War" demand. At the end of last week the Home Office was understood to be still considering the report.

Meanwhile in certain localities the authorities have already acted; instances are reported below.

Bournemouth Meeting Banned By Police

ON the grounds that it was "likely to cause a breach of the peace" a public meeting due to be held by Bournemouth group of the Peace Pledge Union was banned by the police a few hours before it was due to begin.

It was stated that the police had acted on instructions from the Chief Constable of Hampshire.

A police superintendent told John Barclay and Mr. Marchant, local PPU secretary, that he had received complaints about the distribution of leaflets entitled *What Are We Fighting For?*

The meeting was to have been held in the Co-operative Hall, Winton. The speaker was Mr. John Barclay, and PPU members had distributed ten thousand leaflets to advertise it.

Eventually it was held privately in the Friends' Meeting House.

The incident has been reported to the National Council for Civil Liberties.

A poster parade was planned for last Saturday as a protest against the ban.

Leaflets: Police Threaten Action - And Give Advice

AS a result of the distribution by the Chorley Wood (Herts) group of the Peace Pledge Union of the leaflet *What Are We Fighting For?* a member of the group, Mr. S. W. Randolph, has been visited by the police.

"They informed me that they had received complaints regarding our action," Mr. Randolph told *Peace News*. "They made references to the Defence of the Realm Act and suggested that a continuation of such activities might result in action being taken."

"When I protested that freedom to express opinion was, I thought, permitted in this country, I was informed that until the outbreak of war such was the case."

What They Suggested

"The police made a remark, however, which may be of interest."

"They suggested that if, instead of delivering the leaflets widespread through letter-boxes, a call was made at each house and the occupier first asked if he was interested in our literature, a breach of the law was less likely."

"It seems to me that this suggestion is a good one—in spite of its coming from the police! Besides avoiding waste of leaflets it does give one a far better opportunity to argue the pacifist case."

TOWN COUNCILLORS ATTACK "PEACE NEWS" SELLERS

Two town councillors figured in a scene on Saturday afternoon when Peace Pledge Union members in Walsall were selling *Peace News* in the streets for the first time.

The councillors stopped near one of the three sellers and conferred for a short time. One of them then ordered the seller to give up his papers. The seller refused.

So the councillor seized the seller's poster and tore it to shreds. He then snatched the papers and tore them up too, shouting abuse at the same time.

A crowd quickly gathered. Someone informed the councillors of the second seller's pitch, where they repeated their action, naturally causing the crowd to grow.

The councillors destroyed about twenty

copies of *Peace News* in all, the third seller having got away from his pitch before his turn came.

A police constable who witnessed the snatching and tearing up of the second seller's papers was asked by him to note what was being done. He took no action, however, and moved away.

The councillors continued to argue in a loud voice, accusing the sellers of being Blackshirts, Germans, and so on, and ordered them not to appear there again. They even made some attempts to search one seller.

By this time many people in the crowd thought the sellers were Germans, or at any rate pro-Nazis.

No resistance was offered by the sellers.

BOOKS

The Root of Our Troubles

By LAURENCE HOUSMAN

Mankind Set Free. By Maurice L. Rowntree, with an introduction by George Lansbury, MP. Jonathan Cape. 10s. 6d.

ONE of the underlying principles of Christ's teaching is that for freedom to serve God in this world, a man must begin with himself and work outwards. He must start from his own conscience, his individual sense of what is right, and on that must act; and though he should always be ready to test searchingly the ground of his convictions, so long as they hold good there must be no compromise.

That attitude has been a special characteristic of the Society of Friends of which Maurice Rowntree is a member. In his book, *Mankind Set Free*, it underlies the whole of his examination of the social and international problems which are troubling the world.

One of the chief merits of this method of approach is that it makes for simplification. The moral grounds are more easily arrived at.

Tie yourself to the tail of a system, and you become entangled in its contradictions and its difficulties and the shadiness of its morals, whereas from the individual standpoint, being the director of your own moral sense, you face up to your political problems with an equipment which their difficulties and complexities cannot take from you.

The Rights of Property

I do not know whether Maurice Rowntree is a Liberal, a Socialist, or a Communist; but to the question of the rights of property he makes this delightful approach:

"I discover, let us say, a virgin forest in unclaimed territory, and with my own hands make a chair out of the wood I hew. Have I an

exclusive right to the use of that chair? A friend of mine in business replied 'Yes'; but I asked him whence came my skill to make that chair? Leaving aside the question of who made the tools, or the right of the community to the wood, do I not inherit the tradition of thousands of nameless men who toiled at chair-making before me? Is not the very idea of a chair a part of my social inheritance?"

Thus the chair that has made becomes a thing to be shared, whenever the sharing can bring benefit. He concludes, therefore, that there is no such thing as absolute right in property, and that even what is called the "stewardship of wealth" must be superseded by a sense of corporate responsibility. This qualification of possessions within our social system he links up with possession in things international; and in our refusal to recognize this lie the causes of war.

Mind and Matter

In this chapter on "God and Nature," discussing the impossibility of measuring the values of mind by matter, he puts the case against the claims of materialism with a humorous simplicity which, though it would not carry far in serious controversy, has good entertainment value:

"Science deals with quantity, rather than with quality. By scientific methods, I can ascertain that my best friend weighs 154 lbs., can walk four miles in an hour if pressed, and is largely composed of water. The raw materials of which he is made may be worth about 5s. How much does all that help me toward knowing if he is really my best friend?"

All through the twenty-four chapters of this book, its subjects ranging over race, empire, war, democracy, sex, religion, and economics, there are similar touches of friendly intimacy of argument which give a lift to the weight of its seriousness. A foreword by George Lansbury gives this book the send-off which it deserves.

An Aid to Thinking Out Your Pacifism

By ROY WALKER

Pacifism for Today and Tomorrow. By Edwin S. Towill and T. E. Faulkner. Peace Book Co., 1s.

DURING the last decade the literature of pacifism has grown with almost alarming rapidity. As the steady flow of books and the tidal wave of pamphlets has increased I have become more and more nervous.

For this literature is an uncharted ocean and in it the essential pacifist message is like an island almost surrounded by dangerous reefs on which the innocent pacifist may easily be wrecked.

Pacifism for Today and Tomorrow successfully charts at least the main currents and the important landmarks and very commendably is not unconcerned with the queer creatures which lurk in the depths.

The eleven study-outlines are brief, lucid and simply essays on important aspects of pacifism and each is prefaced with efficient lists of books and pamphlets in which the reader may find fuller expositions of the matters discussed. Each essay ends with a set of questions excellently designed to set the reader thinking over what he has just read.

The outlines are first-rate but what is even more important the authors, and their collabora-

tors, seem to have the happy instinct for choosing the right book. I have only one grumble; surely Mr. Milne's *Peace with Honour* deserves a place in the first list? It is the most readable and the most logical of all the introductions to pacifism and is too often neglected, perhaps because the English are inclined to assume that John Barclay is the only man who can be very funny and very serious at the same time.

The outlines deal with: Foundations of Pacifism, The Individual Approach, Pacifism and Politics, The Pacifist and the State, How to Deal with Aggressors, Peaceful Change—three sections; Economic Grievances, Trusteeship and World Government—The Community Ideal, What Is Non-Violent Technique, and The Pacifist and the Churches. Surely this is worth a shilling of anybody's money?

But there is also a foreword by John Middleton Murry and an extremely able essay on the Pacifist Group by Walter Griffith. I don't know that Mr. Griffith has written very extensively about pacifism before this; but he is certainly in the front rank of those who can really say something vital about it. He conveys with ease the dual nature of pacifism, the essential balance between propaganda and humanitarian work and we are left with a clear impression that those who suppose either form of work to be sufficient in itself are trying to walk with one leg.

But—quite intentionally—the authors have said little about non-pacifist arguments. Darwin, when writing the *Origin of Species* found that he speedily forgot any fact or theory which did not fit in with his own hypothesis, and pacifists are prone to be one-sided in their study-work and consequently in their arguments.

How many, for instance, know that "the total present production of all commercially important raw materials in all colonial territories is no more than about 3 percent of world production" or that Gerald Heard (in *These Hurling Years*) has delivered a brief but devastating attack on Gandhi which ought to be built into any realistic picture of his very great achievements? Here then is another job for Mr. Towill and Mr. Faulkner? Will they compile a companion volume outlining the theories and mentioning the inconvenient facts of the many very intelligent people who "do not go as far as the pacifists"?

News about "Peace News"

IT HAPPENED ONLY ONCE BEFORE . . .

FOR the second time in our history we had to order a reprint of *Peace News* last week. Regular orders were well up again and so the upward trend that has been experienced since immediately after the outbreak of war continued. The following figures indicate our progress since then:

| | Copies Ordered |
|-------------|----------------|
| September 8 | 21,812 |
| " 15 | 23,073 |
| " 22 | 24,459 |
| " 29 | 27,292 |
| October 6 | 30,013* |
| " 13 | 32,840 |

* This figure does not include a special order of 5,000 sent for use in the Clackmannan campaign.

Outstanding during this period have been the increased orders of Newsagents (from 14,200 to 18,000) and group and street sales (from 6,000 to 10,500).

The *Peace News* Fund also was substantially increased last week and we are glad to acknowledge the following individual contributions:—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|-------------------------|-----|----|----|
| Previously acknowledged | 255 | 15 | 4 |
| A. Loftley | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| S. E. J. Walker | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| C. Nathem | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| C. E. B. (Acton) | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| E. Shepard | 2 | 6 | 0 |
| From Four in Birmingham | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| L. Settle | 2 | 6 | 0 |
| S. W. Clark | 2 | 6 | 0 |
| B. W. B. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| J. B. Gregory | 2 | 6 | 0 |

From the Editor's Notebook

(Continued from page 4).

peace-lovers, as anything could.

Requests for the letter should be sent to VERA BRITAIN, c/o Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

Writing to M.P.s

MANY people are still writing to the PRIME MINISTER and to their Members of Parliament to let them know that they wish a truce to be called to the fighting and peace to be negotiated at once.

It is to be hoped that many more will do so, especially now.

There will still, however, be special matters about which people will want to write to MPs asking them to do something or other about them. In this connexion I am asked to give a word of warning.

If you want a Member of Parliament to take up a matter—and especially to ask a question—in the House, be sure you give him all the necessary information. And, of course, don't write anonymously.

Members—not necessarily pacifist—are generally willing to make inquiries in cases, for example, of apparent injustice. But they cannot be expected to if the information they have to go on is unreliable.

French Pacifists

JEAN GIONO is probably the best-known pacifist in France. Perhaps that is why he, in particular, has been reported as having been imprisoned as a "defeatist" (French—and rapidly becoming English, I notice—for "pacifist"!), although HENRI ROSER, who won so many PPU members' affection at Harrogate, and in fact most other pacifists, I understand, have also been imprisoned since the war began.

JEAN GIONO's following is considerable in the South of France, where his home is. He is an outstanding writer and has written quite a number of novels which have enjoyed a large popularity; a typical one is *Les vraies richesses*.

In these novels he is an exponent of simple country life and a return to an existence dependent on working the ground. He takes the position that the peasant class is the true backbone of France, and he calls upon the workers of the soil to recognize their importance and to assert themselves by demanding support and sympathy.

In addition, he is opposed to war because he feels it to be completely futile. He says that he himself went through the last war without once firing his gun, having put it out of condition on purpose before he went to the front lines.

He uses picturesque, racy language to express his thought and endeavours to convince the common man that "to acquiesce in war is merely a way of giving his son over to be eaten by the worms."

The most stirring expression of his pacifist opinions is the small book put out at the time of the September crisis which he calls *Refus d'obéissance*, in which he says, at the close of the introduction, "In case of war I refuse to obey." He was then organizing a movement among the peasants to refuse to mobilize, and he himself ignored the summons.

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|----|
| Lady at Ealing Broadway | 2 | 6 |
| A. Lauret | 1 | 0 |
| Ingham | 2 | 0 |
| A. C. B. | 5 | 0 |
| J. Carr | 2 | 0 |
| B. B. | 2 | 6 |
| East Barnet Group | 2 | 6 |
| G. A. Gardner | 2 | 0 |
| E. G. Lester | 2 | 0 |
| G. Hart | 1 | 0 |
| L. Rose | 1 | 0 |
| A. M. R. and K. S. | 6 | 0 |
| E. Whittle | 2 | 0 |
| "A Widow's Mite" | 1 | 0 |
| W. G. | 5 | 6 |
| Ex-Officer, 1914-18 | 3 | 0 |
| J. A. B. and M. L. B. | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. G. S. W. | 1 | 0 |
| Nottingham Office | 1 | 0 |
| B. R. Stamp | 2 | 0 |
| Blaeu Festiniog Group | 2 | 6 |
| L. E. Holder | 2 | 0 |
| M. W. Watson | 2 | 15 |
| A. Beard | 5 | 0 |
| "An Eastbourne Lady" | 1 | 0 |
| Ex-Soldier's Pension | 1 | 0 |
| S. J. S. | 5 | 0 |
| J. Brocklesly | 1 | 6 |
| J. D. H. Bullman | 2 | 6 |

£286 2 3

Donations of any size will be welcomed and acknowledged in *Peace News*. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to Peace News, Ltd.—and not the Peace Pledge Union—and should be addressed to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

ADVICE FROM AIR "ACE"

Go to Prison Rather than to War

"BETTER to go to prison than to war. If you go to prison, you will at least be fighting for an ideal."

That advice was given to his son by Ray Bridgman, an American who was an air "ace" in the last war, according to an interview published in the "New York Post" three weeks after the outbreak of war.

"They must be told," he added, "that there is more heroism in peace than in war."

They must be told that all wars are useless, that this present one in Europe is unnecessary . . .

"There would never have been any Hitler, never any invasion of Poland, if the great cheer leaders of France and England had been just men who wanted a just peace."

Ray Bridgman is now an instructor in New York University. He received the Croix de Guerre in the last war.

REFUGEE WORK MUST CONTINUE

—George Lansbury

An appeal issued by the War Resisters' International, and signed by George Lansbury, says:

"The plight of the world makes our Refugee Work more and more important. Unfortunately it also curtails our funds. We need a lot of money and we need it now. Our work . . . is now more than ever necessary. Our home for Spanish refugee women and children in France will be kept going. Refugees in other countries will suffer severely if not helped by us. Refugees here in Britain for whom we are responsible must be cared for. All this work and much more needs your help. Our office expenses are very small. Almost all our funds are spent directly on the purposes for which they are raised and not on a Bureaucracy, only 15 per cent of money received last year being used for administrative expenses. Will you please help us now by sending all you can afford and perhaps a little more to me: George Lansbury, President, War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England, and will you keep on doing so as often as possible?"

Conference Will Discuss Liberty in Wartime

A delegate conference to discuss "Civil Liberty in Wartime" will be held in the Beaver Hall, Cannon Street, London, E.C.4, on November 4 from 2.15 to 6 p.m.

The conference has been organized by the National Council for Civil Liberties and the speakers will be W. H. Thompson (chairman), Professor Harold J. Laski, Robert Willis and A. S. Comyns Carr.

Further particulars and delegate forms are obtainable from the Council at 320 Regent Street, London, W.1.

PRINTING and PUBLICITY

W. J. FOWLER & SON, LTD.

245-7, CRICKLEWOOD BROADWAY, LONDON, N.W.2.

Telephone: GLAdstone 1234.

100% Members Peace Pledge Union.

Nationalism

I SEE one of your correspondents, John Nibb, condemns nationalism and the call for self-determination of nations. Yet if our national tradition here had not led to the election of Mr. de Valera as head of the Irish Government we should not have achieved that measure of self-determination which has enabled us to stand out of this imperialist war, the one member, or supposed member, of the British Commonwealth to do so. The fact surely is that nationalism is bad only when it becomes, as it so easily can, jingoism, but good in so far as it is an attempt to adapt to present circumstances the best that has come down from past tradition.

One of the best points in Ireland's national tradition is its hatred of imperialism. That is why many of us here look with tremendous sympathy on the movement to persuade the British Parliament, by pressure of public opinion, to produce constructive, non-imperialist terms for an immediate end to the war. We hope British anti-imperialists will see to it that a Government arises in Britain willing to withdraw its armed forces and vested interests from Northern Ireland, and use its good offices to bring together the people of North and South here, whom Britain has kept apart for her own imperialist ends.

You may rely on us to do all in our power to preserve Irish neutrality, and extend it to cover Northern Ireland as well. We rely on you to prevent all efforts by British politicians, military and naval experts, and economic interests to force us into a war not of our seeking.

J. E. de COURCY IRELAND.
Muff, Lifford, Co. Donegal, Ireland.

Dr. Temple's Broadcast

The Archbishop of York's radio address, which one has now had the chance to study in print, is surely presumptuous to a questionable extent.

The statement that "our young people are more ready to serve their country in arms than they ever were" looks unconvincing beside the well-known fact that over 16 percent of the group called up at Cambridge University took such a seriously different attitude as to register as conscientious objectors.

Though the Archbishop has identified himself so completely with the war method, a substantial number face the Nazi menace by quite other means. Conscripted was dumbly accepted as a professed preventive against war, not as a facility for war. The readiness is mechanical rather than spiritual.

It is altogether too slick and unworthy to say, in effect, to youth, "because we failed in peace-making you must fight." A serious sense of failure would not so coldly shift the dreadful consequences to the shoulders of the youngest.

One looked in vain for a sign that the Archbishop was moved with pity at the wholesale slaughter of youth by youth in promoting his methods, or for an expression of alarm at the inevitable moral degradation of warfare (beyond a warning not to get angry at air-raids). But these omissions are characteristic of the warmind against which people ought to be on their guard.

One hoped for a more Christian utterance from an honoured Christian leader.

(Rev.) JAMES FRASER.
27 Rylett Road, London, W.12.

Can You Complete a "Peace News" File?

Some time ago we wrote to you in regard to securing for our file a copy of No. 1 (June 20, 1936) of your *Peace News*, and you replied in your letter of August 25, 1939, that it was not possible for you to send it.

As it is our intention to preserve the file permanently, we feel that no effort should be spared to complete it. Do you think that an appeal through the columns of *Peace News* to your readers might be successful in bringing us this number? Many people who subscribe for magazines and papers save their copies until for lack of space or for other reasons, they are glad to dispose of them, particularly if they can find a depository where they will be useful and appreciated. Many old files come to the Library as gifts, both solicited and unsolicited and it is seldom that publishers made an appeal for us to their readers without satisfactory results. Anything further you may do towards supplying us with the issue we lack, will be appreciated.

H. M. LYDENBERG,
The Director, The New York Public Library,
Fifth Avenue, and 42nd Street, New York City.

A Testimonial

Kindly repeat our advertisement in *Peace News* for Mate tea, postal order enclosed. Our last advertisement has pulled wonderfully well, better in fact than one of the leading dailies. Orders have come in from North and South.

YERBA MATE CO.
Gorsey Works,
Upper Brook Street,
Stockport.

We have space for only a few of the letters we receive.

Other things being equal, letters of about 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Public Opinion and the War

M.P.s and the Press declare there is a united people in favour of pursuing the war until victory. Whatever victory may mean.

I find a very different view among the mass of the people. There is little enthusiasm for the war, and to fight for the restoration of Poland and Czechoslovakia is regarded as madness by many folk.

To call a conference of neutrals with impartial jurists and economists and to be willing to submit to their decision is approved by most except the Jingo fighters to a finish.

Compared with the South African War and the Great War, I meet with rather a strange situation.

The South African War was more popular than the Great War. This war is less popular than either.

But the official view has far more suppressing power than in either of the two other wars. The wireless has the voice of millions. Open air propaganda is impossible in the provinces.

There are few means to ventilate impartial opinion and the pulpit, for the most part, repeats the tonic of the politicians.

If some leader had the courage to call for a peace conference now it would command widespread support.

The continuance of the war will play into the hands of Hitlerism more than anything else. A peace conference would not accept Hitler's terms but would put forward realistic terms which would make for freedom and justice to all countries both small and great. The merely negative refusal of Hitler's terms is not enough.

RICHARD LEE.
The Great Meeting House, Coventry.

When travelling in a country district a few months ago, at a time when our daily Press was, as usual, busy working up war fever, I was struck by a remark made by one English village woman to another: "Well," she said, "They took our husbands in the last war, they'll be taking our sons now for another."

I am not an actual pacifist but I do feel that only an actual and direct attack on British lives and territory could excuse our Government for taking the terrible responsibility of a second European war within a generation of the last one.

To wage a war under the pretext of preventing one later, is an absurd proposition—if it were not such a tragedy—and the idea of "pacifying Europe" by means of this war is equally illogical and impossible; we have already tried it once and should know how little peace can be gained in that way.

I hope that all people who have common sense, intelligence and honesty will combine together to put a stop to the war on the basis of a peace founded on real justice, untainted by political bias.

M. M. ROBERTS.
9 Mount Beaton, Bath.

I have before me a "Stop the War" leaflet No. 2, in which in the first paragraph occurs the expression the "menace of Hitlerism."

When the whole of the daily press is exerting itself in presenting only one side of the case—the British—and using expressions, often meaningless like the one referred to, but which have a distinct value in prejudicing and inflaming the minds of readers, generally thoroughly ignorant, it behoves us to be very careful not to give them assistance by using their war cries, but to substitute truer and more fitting statements.

V. WILSON.
36 Brown Lane, Heald Green, Cheshire.

Is it not time, before it is too late, that England pause, reflected, and criticized herself, just for a change?

We are entering this ghastly war with such smug assurance as to the righteousness of our cause!

If we were genuinely out to fight aggression and not one country's aggression—why are we not at war with Russia, and Japan? Why did we not fight Italy over Abyssinia? Is it worse to drop bombs on Poles than on Chinese? Why these distinctions? Is it not nearer the truth that we have our knife into Germany alone—not because of her aggression, but because she is our potential rival in the trade and money markets of the world?

That rather takes the "righteousness" out of the cause, doesn't it?

Then how futile and how cowardly to lay the blame for war at one man's door. No single one of us is blameless. So because of our stupidity and for lack of honest thinking we are prepared once again to ask our Youth to go out and be slain! Sending them out by the same old tricks;

of appealing to their honour and their chivalry; telling them of the noble Cause for which they die!

WINIFRED E. HAYDON.
Pollards, Four Elms, nr. Edenbridge, Kent.

Don't you think it is high time Greenwood, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, put a sock in it?

He now is telling us that "The body of Poland has been rent asunder, though her spirit lives." The suggestion is, of course, that to put this Polish spirit back in its Polish body we ought to keep at war and release British and French spirits from British and French bodies. What about Labour and trade union leaders giving a lead in this directions? There's plenty of room for them in the trenches. Times like the present need plain speaking!

Greenwood conveniently forgets that it isn't very long since the Labour Party was roundly condemning Poland as a dictatorship, and that Labour and Socialist women passed a resolution expressing "abhorrence of the illegal and brutal actions of the Polish Government against its political opponents," and its "persecution of minorities..."

GEORGE CAIN.
The Hermitage, Exwich, Exeter.

Glasgow Teachers

May I ask all pacifist teachers in Glasgow to write to me, giving me their names and addresses, with a view eventually to calling a meeting for the discussion of problems relating to their position. This includes women as well as men, as both have their special problems in this matter, and is intended for those teachers who are employed by Glasgow Corporation Education Committee, whether or not they actually live within the Glasgow boundary. In the case of evacuated teachers who may not see this, will their pacifist friends who do please tell them about it.

HENRY A. BARTER.
310 Kirkintilloch Road, Bishopbriggs, Glasgow.

For Civil Servants

The response to our letters published in *Peace News* a fortnight ago, was very gratifying, and showing that some had already had to face difficult situations, and that the calling of an early meeting would be welcome. A meeting has therefore been arranged for Wednesday, October 25, at Kingsway Hall, London, W., commencing 5.15 p.m.

If you cannot attend and are interested, please forward your name, private address and department to 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.1, if you have not already done so.

G. E. ALBON.
D. H. BRIMS.
C. H. HARTWELL.

Prospect of Peace Terms

ASSUMING the immediate objective of anti-war opinion in this country to be preparation, and placing before the German people, of constructive peace terms, it was with great satisfaction that I noted the general tone of Dr. Alfred Salter's article in your issue of September 22.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that a point will soon be reached when the German people will wish to tolerate no longer the policies at present being employed by their Government. While no Government—far less a totalitarian Government engaged in large-scale warfare—can exist without the active support of its people, it is certain that the main bulk of Germans would rather accept the gamble of war than to capitulate to the enemy, with the prospect of having to face a second Versailles. Therefore, when attempting to "contact" the German people, whether by leaflet raids or radio propaganda, it is of the utmost importance that our Government should adopt the basic principles of Federal Union on which to frame its peace terms.

The project of Federalism is rapidly gaining support from all strata of British opinion, and in its establishment progressive-minded individuals are seeing the only "practical" means of stopping the war—that is, means which would gain the support of a majority of the British people, of whom only a small (though admittedly increasing) minority feel able to sanction the methods of non-violent resistance where a European war is concerned.

If the case for Federalism is intelligently presented to the German people, they are bound to realize that a peace founded on this system will enable Germany to deliberate at the European Conference table

on equal terms with belligerent and neutral countries alike.

And so I would like to emphasize very strongly the necessity of the Peace Pledge Union supporting the work of Federal Union, and co-operating with the policy of this body as far as pacifist principles permit. With some form of active liaison between these two Unions, I feel that public opinion will become more fully aware of the positive, rather than the negative, implications of the pacifist doctrine.

K. S. LAWRENCE.
22 Halford Road, Richmond, Surrey.

We have been trying to get the idea of a United States of Europe across ever since Victor Hugo coined the phrase. It has always been ridiculed and disparaged as an impractical dream until now. What has happened to improve the chances of its fulfilment? Nothing! The prospects were never less, and the longer the war lasts, the less will they become.

Co-operation cannot come out of strife, good out of evil, construction out of destruction, truth out of falsehood, light out of darkness, peace out of war, life out of death, birth out of suicide.

If the last war, waged in a spirit of abandoned sacrifice, achieved no good, why should this one?

The shorter this war is the less damage it will do to the cause of human progress. The longer it lasts the darker and more hopeless will become the future of mankind.

A conference, at this stage, could not possibly have done any harm, it might have meant the salvation of Europe.

W. R. BURWELL.
Ideal Chambers, 92 London Road, Leicester.

Newcomers

MAY I appeal to long-standing members of the Peace Pledge Union to show tolerance towards newcomers. They are not necessarily using the PPU as a cloak to "get out of it."

Although I have always been determined not to take part in war, and have sympathized with the ideals of the PPU, I did not join until the outbreak of war because I was half persuaded that the threat of force would prevent a general conflict, and I did not feel that it would be conscientious to belong to an organization which might hinder the Government's "peace" efforts.

Recent history has proved how wrong and, possibly, short-sighted was this reasoning. But there must be many who were as confused as I was, and, although it is late in the day, we shall surely be of more use inside the PPU than outside. I think we shall now be found to be among the most uncompromising opponents not only of war, but also of those organizations which make war—and not peace—possible. And, as for myself, I shall not mention my membership of the PPU when it is my turn to go before the Tribunal.

B. T. DAREY.
49 Stanmer Park Road, Brighton.

Are Refugees World Citizens?

Much of the humanitarian work done by Pacifists and others may be justified for its own sake, but can we always be satisfied with the results? In the early days of the League of Nations, I remember hesitating as to whether one ought to concentrate on removing the causes of war, and not be diverted by such palliatives as the European Relief efforts. I was converted to the importance of both by, I think, Lord Parmoor, who pointed out what valuable links were being forged for peace.

Yet all the starving children saved by Friends and others (I saw the magnificent work at the Singerstrasse in Vienna in 1921 and have no wish to deny it) have just grown up into loyal Nazis. Moreover, the Refugees over here are flocking to do National Service.

Ought Pacifists to encourage this? If we prefer our own countrymen to be imprisoned rather than conscripted, are not Refugees better interned than part of the military machine? Then, even those that emigrate cannot enter USA without promising to fight, or in South America are conscripted into new national units. How can they be citizens of the world? (as Prof. Bentwich claims). Must we wait till federation comes, or is there no way by which these homeless millions can hasten its advent?

RONALD GUNDRY.
75 Beechmount Avenue, W.7.

John Barclay writes from Room 13:

BLAZING THE TRAIL

NEARLY 1,500,000 leaflets have been distributed by members of the Peace Pledge Union since our campaign began. From the North of Scotland to the Channel Islands—and from Norfolk to Wales they have carried the messages we printed. Many of you who have been doing the work—often in the “black-out,” when it is tiring and difficult to get about—must have wondered what results have been registered. Let me try and give you a few direct consequences of your nightly visitations.

As was to have been expected, there have been a number of anonymous letters usually minus a stamp and returning the leaflet—altered according to the point of view of the sender. There are three kinds of anonymous writers—(1) the abusive, (2) the indignant, (3) the more-in-sorrow-than-in-anger type.

The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

The first is put in the WPB, the second—if not too angry—serves as a useful guide, and the third would be answered if only an address was given. In spite of the tremendous output we only get back about six anonymous letters a day—which speaks well of the leaflets.

There are obviously hundreds of good citizens righteously indignant—who send their copies to the police, the press or MPs, complaining that they have been insulted. We hear of this by way of press cuttings and by letters from the “good

citizens” themselves. We often answer these letters enclosing with our answer samples of PPU literature giving a comprehensive idea of our philosophy and policy.

Finally, there is an ever-increasing number of letters of inquiry, praising the leaflets and asking for more. Membership goes up all the time—2,450 in September, 1,194 in the first 12 days of October.

So much for the registered results. The real progress being made is not discernable on the surface and will not be known till long after the event. Truth has a way of permeating and, like an acid, burning its way into the human mind. The burning often produces anger and pain at first, but truth, unlike the acid, is always followed by hunger for more. This hunger is already manifesting itself and we must be prepared to supply the necessary food.

The next leaflets will be of a new order. They will directly appeal to the mind and require digesting. To write these leaflets we are fortunate in having men like John Middleton Murry, Max Plowman and Eric Gill, to say nothing of all those other men and women, acknowledged leaders of thought, who have joined the Pacifist Movement. It seems strange that Pacifism alone can rally to its side such a formidable host. It is this fact that makes me an optimist in a mad and pain-ridden world—this and my belief that you and I are able to follow them enthusiastically and untiringly blazing the trail to Peace.

Basque Children Past and Present

AT an early stage in the history of Basque House some lay members of the staff felt that the way a certain child was being treated for a poisoned finger in our little infirmary was inadequate and unsatisfactory. Though their action may have been very wrong, the course they took was to start a rival infirmary in the cellar where their treatment duly cured the finger.

Apart from the cure, one good result was that the girl concerned became interested in nursing, eventually took charge of a large part of the nursing in the colony, and has now become a real nurse in an important English sanatorium. She is one of several of our children who are now serving in this way.

On the other hand there is our remnant in the care of Señor Landa at Laleham School, Northdown Park Road, Margate, who are well enough off except that, through lack of funds, the food supply of this colony is inadequate. Could you help to make it known that the Basque children still in this country need support?

Activist Group's Aims

A manifesto outlining the aims of The Activist Group (within the Peace Pledge Union) states:

“We refuse absolutely to partake in any method belonging to war, realizing that a positive move towards the Good Life in a world at war must of necessity begin with a negative attitude towards the war policy of the governments concerned in the conflict.

“This negative attitude is forced upon us. We remain positive, however, all the while in seeking to revolutionize the social order by introducing into it the things which belong ONLY to peace—production for use which provides a sufficiency for all according to their needs, understanding and love which are basic to a living fellowship of all mankind, and self-determination for all Colonial peoples who shall have the power to organize their lives on a basis of self-government in order that they can best enter into a World Federation of Free Peoples.”

P.P.U. Council Meeting

Membership Still Grows

THE enrolment of 2,435 new members in September, and 1,194 in the first half of October, was reported at the meeting of the PPU Council on Saturday. This brings the total membership to over 132,000.

In accordance with the union's affiliation to the National Peace Council, John Barclay, Sybil Morrison, Maurice Rowntree, Stuart Morris, and Humphrey Moore were appointed as representatives on the council.

Richard Ward reported that the Pacifist Service Bureau was finding work (mostly on the land) for some out-of-work pacifists, helping to staff a newly-opened hospital, aiding a theatrical project, and giving some assistance on a farm. Max Plowman urged that the need to befriend refugees should be brought to the notice of pacifists.

It was decided to issue part of Bernard Shaw's article in the October 7 *New Statesman* as a leaflet, but not in the “Stop-the-War” series. The Literature Sub-Committee is to prepare a leaflet calling for a statement of what the Government would accept as a guarantee for peace negotiations.

Vera Brittain, Humphrey Moore, and Roy Walker were added to the Emergency Committee which has power to act until the National Council meets again on November 18.

It was decided to submit Roy Walker's scheme for an information service to the groups to ascertain what support it would have on the basis of a self-supporting subscription.

Harold Bing and J. R. Wales have resigned from the Council as they are unable to attend frequent meetings, and Ruth Fry “in view of present circumstances.”

Advisory Bureaux for C.O.s.

HERE are some further corrections and additions to the full list of Advisory Bureaux for COs published a fortnight ago. Any similar changes should NOT be sent to *Peace News*, but to the National Advisory Bureaux, at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Amendments PROVINCES

BRADFORD. 112 Morley Street, Bradford.
EXETER. Miss G. L. Thorn, 21 Prospect Park, Exeter.
NEW MALDEN. George L. Deacon, 35 Nelson Road, New Malden.
SWANSEA. Alan Morris, 2 Pant-y-celyn Road, Townhill, Swansea.
STOCKTON-ON-TEES. Leonard Williams, 16 Clifton Avenue, Stockton-on-Tees.

Additions PROVINCES

BLACKBURN AND DISTRICT. Woodville, Dukes Brow, Blackburn.
BRIDLINGTON. Rev. S. Thompson, 21 St. John's Avenue, Bridlington, Yorks.
NEWPORT. M. Clark, 23 Bassaleg Road, Newport, Mon.
RUGBY. Frank S. Stewart, 20 Westgate Road, Rugby.
RUSHDEN. Miss Wildman, Morada, Irchester Road, Rushden, Northants.

WALES

LLANBRYNMAIR. Robert Evans, Broniaen, Llanbrynmair, Montg.

Weekend Visit to Bruderhof

A party from Youth House, 250 Camden Road, London, N.W.1, will leave tomorrow (Saturday) to spend the weekend at the Cotswold Bruderhof, at Ashton Keynes, near Swindon. The community consists of about 300 persons of all nationalities but with a common Christian creed, who hold all goods in common and live mainly by farming.

The weekend visitors will go not as tourists, but ready to join in the life and help with the work of the community.

A coach will leave Charing Cross Embankment at 2 or 2.30 p.m. tomorrow and the fare will be 5s. 6d. return. The Bruderhof has stated that the visitors may pay what they can afford. Any last minute bookings should be made immediately at Youth House.

London Women's Peace March

London women are to follow the example of Miss Mary Taylor of Liverpool. (See picture on page 7.)

A banner parade will start from Kingsway Hall on Tuesday (October 24). Marchers will meet at 4.30 p.m. and again at 5.30 p.m.

The slogan to be carried will be “For the sake of children everywhere I appeal to men to stop this war.”

What the Groups Are Doing

WILFRED WELLOCK visited Birkenhead last week and addressed a joint meeting of the PPU and Fellowship of Reconciliation. His address threw so much light on the present situation that it has been decided to circulate a summary of it among the members.

The group is at present engaged in distributing 5,000 copies of leaflets No. 1 and it will follow this up with a distribution of the same number of copies of leaflets No. 3. It is also hoped to make arrangement for selling *Peace News* in the Birkenhead Market Place every Saturday.

A branch of the Pacifist Service Bureau has been formed in connexion with the group and 23 members have enrolled for a first-aid class. Consideration has also been given to the ways in which members could render assistance to those social services which are being neglected as a result of the war, and this is being done in co-operation with the Birkenhead Social Service Centre.

Ashford Mock Tribunal

THE Ashford group is holding a mock tribunal on Tuesday (October 24) at 7.30 p.m. in the Adult School Hall, Hempsted Street. The chairman will be John P. Fletcher of London (who, as a CO in the last war, has had extensive experience of tribunals—from the applicant's standpoint). He will be supported by three or four experienced friends who will be both critical and sympathetic.

The applicants will be members who may shortly have to appear before a real tribunal; in some cases they will be represented by a friend, in others they will stand alone. Those wishing to stand should send their names at once to Mr. Suter, 14b Albert Road, Ashford.

West London Region

AT a general meeting of West London Groups at Hammersmith, with John Barclay in the chair, it was decided to invite the following groups to form a West London Region; Hammersmith, Chiswick, Putney and Barnes, Acton, Shepherd's Bush, Chelsea, Fulham, Bayswater, Paddington, South Kensington.

A second meeting was held last Saturday when committees were appointed to cover what were agreed to be the two main functions of the regional organization: (1)

There are 1,000 active groups within the Peace Pledge Union. Here are reports showing how some of them are working for peace.

Active joint propaganda for peace; and (2) Support and personal help for COs.

A third general meeting will be held at Friends' Meeting House, The Mall, Hammersmith, at 3.30 p.m. on Saturday, October 28, which all PPU members in the region, whether attached to groups or not, are urged to attend. This meeting will be preceded by a mass selling of *Peace News*. Sellers will meet in the booking hall at Hammersmith District Railway station at 2.30 p.m.

Hitchin Group's New Leaflet

A NEW leaflet has just been issued by the Hitchin group entitled *Some Things We Must Realize If War Is To Cease*. The group has found the leaflet useful for “selective” circularizing, though the cost is rather high for broadcast distribution.

Copies are obtainable direct from the Group Secretary, Peace Pledge Union, Groom's, London Road, Hitchin, Herts. (Price 3s. 6d. per hundred, carriage paid) or through Endsleigh Street.

Romford Resolution

THE Romford group co-operated with the Society of Friends and the Fellowship of Reconciliation in organizing a meeting last Saturday in support of proposals for a truce to arrange a world conference for permanent peace.

The meeting passed a resolution declaring that “no useful purpose can be achieved by a continuation of the conflict,” and appealing to the Government “to put forward proposals for ending the slaughter, and for summoning a world conference to end war and militarism, and to found a new European order on a federal basis.”

Worthing Group Meetings

DURING the winter the Worthing group will meet on the first Thursday in each month and, jointly with the Fellowship of Reconciliation on every alternate Tuesday. On other alternate Tuesdays pacifist first-aid classes are being held, also at the

invitation of the FoR. A discussion circle for young men members of conscription age has been formed, and an attempt is being made to start a junior group for 14s to 18s. It is proposed to work an allotment for the benefit of refugees and other necessitous folk.

There was an encouraging increase in attendance at the last group meeting, at which it was decided to send a telegram to the Prime Minister urging him to make an opportunity for an armistice and to call a conference of world powers to stop the war.

Eastleigh is Active

EASTLEIGH group maintains its usual activity. Several thousand more leaflets have been distributed from house to house, and sellers have been staggered by the success of the first venture with *Peace News* in the streets.

This working-class district is showing some interest in the activities of the PPU.

Willesden Group Conference

A WELL-ATTENDED conference was organized by the Willesden group recently. Mr. Hancock, from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, stressed the case from an exclusively religious point of view, for those opposed to war.

Councillor Hector Marshall, of the local Borough Council, urged that the point regarding Disarmament in Herr Hitler's latest speech be used by our Government as a basis for peace proposals. The motion was put to the conference and carried, with a recommendation that copies of the resolution be sent to the Prime Minister and the local Members of Parliament.

The conference was also addressed by Miss L. Behenna and Mrs. Richardson from the PPU Headquarters. The Rev. L. Keeble, a local minister, presided.

Forest Hill Expands

THE Forest Hill group was founded a year ago with seven members and was then known as the Honor Oak Park group. The active membership is now nearly thirty, and this month they have expanded to become the Forest Hill group. Two families have been adopted in the distressed areas and the group has managed to send a parcel every month.

The group's own Dick Sheppard Centre has been kept going right from the beginning of the group and is now open every week-night from 8 p.m. Friday is an open night when friends from other groups are particularly welcome.

Lewes Sunday Meeting

THE local branches of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and PPU meet every Sunday at 4 p.m. in St. Michael's Church House, High Street, Lewes. Tea is served at 3d. per person.

Dates for Your Diary

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

RHOS, Wrexham; 7 p.m. "California" Chapel; study circle meeting; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Allen Skinner on "The Implications of Pacifism"; PPU.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

GREENFORD; 3 to 5 p.m. Co-operative Hall, Greenford Road (opposite Granada Cinema); Maurice L. Rowntree on "The Challenge of the Present Situation"; chairman: Rev. J. Darlington; PPU.

PECKHAM; 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Highshore Road, Rye Lane; regional meeting of members for South London; PPU.

STOKE; 6 p.m. Church Institute; Laurence Housman and Ven. Percy Hartill (chairman); PPU.

WANDSWORTH; 6.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, High Street; meeting for all CO's; J. Allen Skinner and John Barclay; PPU.

Monday, October 23

BOSCOMBE, Bournemouth; 7.30 p.m. Temperance Hall, Haviland Road; debate: "Is British Imperialism a Danger to World Peace?"; for: T. Rendall Davies; against: G. Marsh; Boscombe Debating Society.

SWANSEA; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, High Street; Richard Ward; United Pacifist Group.

Tuesday, October 24

TOWER HILL; 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; Maurice Rowntree; City PPU group.

HIGHGATE; 7.30 p.m. Archway Central Hall (opposite Highgate Underground Station); Dr. A. Herbert Gray on "Essentials of Christian Peace-making"; Wilfred Wellock on "The Future of Europe"; chairman: Rev. H. F. Leatherland; For and PPU.

Wednesday, October 25

WESTCLIFF-ON-SEA; 8 p.m. Crowstone Congregational Church, Upper Hall, Kings Road; Devotional meeting; John Barclay; Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.

Thursday, October 26

BROADSTONE, Dorset; 7.45 p.m. Women's Institute Hall; Rev. H. Granville Morley; PPU.

Friday, October 27

BARNSTABLE; 7.30 p.m. 92 Newport Road; John Barclay; all pacifists welcomed; PPU.

PENRITH; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Wilfred Wellock and Rev. T. Clifford Brown (chairman); PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Rev. C. G. Holland on "Pacifism and the Church of England"; PPU.

No Ban on Anti-War Propaganda—but . . .

"Rumours of an immediate Government ban on propaganda by organizations opposed to the war are, I understand, without foundation," wrote Maurice Webb in the *Daily Herald* last Thursday.

He added that "action will be taken only in the event of any activity which, in the opinion of the authorities, would interfere with the successful prosecution of the war."

MORE "STOP-THE-WAR" DEMANDS

FOLLOWING are further reports of calls for peace made by various organizations and individuals. Other reports appear on page 7.

CHRISTIANS SHOULD BE PEACE-MAKERS

AT the last meeting of the Quaker Executive Committee (known for over 250 years as "the Meeting for Sufferings"), it was decided to address a message from the Society of Friends "to our fellow-Christians." This message has now been sent to the leaders of the Churches and is being widely distributed in other ways.

It was also received by every Quaker meeting in the country with the suggestion that it should be read to those attending meetings last Sunday.

This Quaker message calls on all Christians to be peace-makers. "It should be possible to recognize a Christian because he is a peace-maker," it begins. "Every day war is prolonged, ideals fade and hatred grows. Whether peace comes early or late, the need for peace-makers now is urgent."

Had the democracies shown a neighbourly spirit when they were in a position to dictate policy, the message continues, the existing régime in Germany might never have appeared. Christians must share the blame. However, "may there be no more acquiescing by Christians in the pleas of political and military necessity. Christians must keep alive right standards now."

"The fact that our country may have left itself with no way to meet aggression but that of force is no reason for those to forsake their faith who have consistently urged that evil cannot be cured by war. All convinced pacifists, whether of long standing or of recent date, should stand firm, declaring the truth as they see it in the spirit of peace-makers."

"The sincerity of those Christians who are throwing all their energies into the prosecution of war is not doubted, but, states the message, 'they are treading a perilous path, for in these matters, as with coinage, the inferior is likely to drive the better out of circulation.'"

The message concludes: "There is a way of God for every situation. If out of the suffering and perplexity of our time a world is born in which men live together as members of one family, it must be the way of Christ. His way means the indefatigable effort to overcome evil by good, whatever the consequences. This is peace-making."

Trade Unionists Want Peace

Two branches of the National Union of Railwaymen have denounced the war as an imperialist war and have called for a cessation of hostilities.

The Polmadie branch, in a resolution adopted last week, called on the Labour and trade union movements to cease co-operation and take a stand against the National Government, to demand the cessation of hostilities, and the calling of a peace conference.

The resolution adopted by Leytonstone branch was based on the Communist Party's argument that "fascism has been stopped by the action of USSR," and called for the ending of the National Government which led the country into war.

Council of Action Urges Readiness To Confer

A call to the Government "to propose for the consideration of the House of Commons and the country a fuller and more precise statement of the aims it desires to achieve, and to state its willingness to submit these aims to a conference of belligerents and neutrals for the purpose of negotiating an enduring peace," was made in resolution adopted by the National Council of the Council of Action on Friday.

The resolution was adopted with two dissentients after an address by Mr. Lloyd George. It is understood that some members abstained from voting.

Plea for a United States of Europe

Lord Davies, as chairman of the Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union, has circulated a memorandum to its branches in which he pleads that the creation of a United States of Europe should be one of the declared war aims of the Allied Powers.

Pacifist Meetings Will Mark Armistice Day

THOUGH the authorities have decided that Armistice Day this year will not be marked by the usual service at the Cenotaph, steps are being taken to see that its real message is not lost.

The Council of Christian Pacifist Groups is once again holding public meetings with the title "Christ and Peace."

One will be held in Kingsway Hall, Kingsway (commencing at 3 p.m.) and the platform will include George Lansbury, Miss E. O. Comber and the Rev. Prof. Herbert H. Farmer, with Dr. Donald Soper as chairman.

The meeting at the Central Hall has been given up and in substitution a number of afternoon meetings are to be held in suburban areas. The Rev. Prof. Charles E. Raven will be conducting a devotional service at Holy Trinity Church, Upper Tooting, at 3.30.

The Baptist Pacifist Fellowship and the Fellowship of Reconciliation are co-operating in meetings in Walthamstow and Highams Park.

Under the leadership of Wallace Hancock, the Fellowship of Reconciliation London Union is arranging a number of other meetings in East London. Miss R. Bevan will speak.

The Baptist Pacifist Fellowship is arranging a meeting with the Rev. G. E. Hickman Johnson as principal speaker at Brownhill Road Baptist Church.

Plans are being made for similar meetings in the provinces, notably in Liverpool, Leeds and Leicester.

"Man has no right to kill his brother. It is no excuse that he does so in uniform; he only adds the infamy of servitude to the crime of murder."—Shelley.

Classified Advertisements

1½d. per word, minimum 2s.

Box Number 6d. extra

Latest time for copy, Tuesday morning

ACCOMMODATION

To Let.

BOARD RESIDENCE in PPU household, 22s. 6d. weekly; or bed-sitting room. Pacifists only. Near Birmingham City.—Box 225, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

FURNISHED bed-sitting-room. Gas fire, ring, electric light; use both.—11 Fairfax Road, Chiswick, W.4.

FURNISHED double bed and sitting room. Neutral area. Quiet. Twenty minutes Waterloo. Food reform understood. Mrs. C., 41 Heath Drive, London, S.W.20.

LITERATURE

READ ABOUT the International School in the October number of *The Knight Crusader*, 3d.—Editor, 6 Frances Road, Basingstoke, Hants.

TO BENEFIT PPU FUNDS, member disposing excellent books for recreation, knowledge. Some expensive. Send 3s. 6d. for dozen assorted.—Box 226, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

PERSONAL

PACIFIST COUPLE could take child, or two sleeping together. Small house. Girl(s) preferred. Grammar School near. Moderate terms.—Henderson, 21 Harlow Park Road, Harrogate.

WOULD GENTLEMAN, understanding finance and organization, kindly give little time and advice to secretary of benevolent fund.—Box 222, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

PRINTING

PACIFIST PRINTER—Leaflets, handbills, stationery, cards, and other simple matter.—W. J. Bridgen, 232, Sellincourt Road, London, S.W.17.

RELIGIOUS

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

SITUATIONS

Wanted

C.O. Chauffeur-driver requires work. Van Salesman (any capacity). Adaptable.—Dryland, 56 Mainway, Chorley Wood, Herts.

CABINET-MAKER, with joinery experience, aged 35, wants position on civil work. Experience hand and machine shops. South London district or near.—Box 219, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

C.O. (26) Instrument maker. Now working in armament factory requires position elsewhere. Living wage only required.—Box 228, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

PACIFIST JOURNALIST requires post, articles, reporting, sub-editing.—Darby, 49 Stanmer Park Road, Brighton.

PACIFIST, London, B.A. Has experience in printing trade and, recently, Farming. Wants any kind of work, preferably agricultural.—Box 223, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

PPU MAN (25) formerly a Welder. Willing to do anything. London District preferred.—Box 227, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

PPU man requires farm work. Handy-man, willing and adaptable. Drive any car. Board and pocket money until efficient.—Box 224, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

PPU MEMBER (23), unemployed owing to war. Matriculated. Clerical experience in education and travel, but any type of work considered.—Blachford, 22 The Square, Carshalton, Surrey.

PPU MEMBER (40) requires post, drive lorry, car, tractor, would undertake farm work, preferably South or South Midlands, or abroad.—Colton, 23 Fearon Street, Loughborough, Leicestershire.

TYPEWRITING

FIRST CLASS Typewriting and Duplicating. Mabel Eyles, 51 Ruskin Walk, Herne Hill, London, S.E.24 Brixton 2863.

LAMB RIBBONS New Fabric, 22s. 6d. doz., 12s. 6d. half-doz., 2s. 3d. each; name colours; typewriter, *Peace News*. Good Carbons 7s. 0d. hundred, 2s. 0d. twenty-five. All postage paid. Lamb's, Adelphi Chambers, Preston.—All C.O.s.

WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Vegetarian Food Reform Guest House. Alt. 600 ft. For happy holiday or restful recuperation. Increased accommodation. Central heating throughout; h. and c. water in all bedrooms. Central for conferences.—A. & K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, near Matlock. Telephone Ambergate 44.

YOUTH HOUSE. Residential and social centre for progressive youth. Vegetarian restaurant, lectures, dances, language classes, rambles, &c. Internationalism and fellowship in active communal life. Single bed-sitting-rooms, 17s. 6d. per week.—Apply Secretary, 250 Camden Road, N.W.1. Gulliver 5189.

You can Help "Peace News"

by

SUPPORTING OUR ADVERTISERS

and mentioning us in all replies to Advertisements.

DICK SHEPPARD MEMORIAL,

—1939—

THE ADELPHI GROUP

in Five of Laurence Housman's

LITTLE PLAYS OF ST. FRANCIS

At THE DICK SHEPPARD MEMORIAL CLUB

Binney Street, Oxford Street, London, W.1

(Binney Street is a turning on the South side of Oxford Street, opposite Selfridges.)

October 28th, at 2.30 and 7.30. October 30th and 31st, at 7.30

ADMISSION FREE.

N.B.—Since accommodation will be limited, it is suggested that those who can should avoid coming to the performance on the actual anniversary, October 31st.

"WE FALL — TO RISE" Destroy Hitlerism by Peace

by Andrew Stewart
(continued from page 1)

2. We have deluged with constructive pacifist propaganda one of the most important industrial areas in Scotland. The very large Scottish anti-war movement has been given new inspiration. One instance of this was the demonstration in Glasgow last Sunday night. Despite the short notice at which it was called, and all the inconveniences of the blackout, there was an attendance of over 2,000 at St. Andrew's Hall.

3. We gave the nation-wide "Stop-the-War" movement a focal point for a fortnight. This made local efforts part of a national drive, and not merely sporadic.

Wide Enthusiasm

My own impressions of the campaign are:

The enthusiasm and unity of the large body of workers who left their jobs, or travelled from far distances to do what they could to help;

The shower of donations and good wishes brought by every post-disabled ex-soldiers, ex-officers, plain folk of all kinds, even children wrote to tell us how inspired they were by our challenge;

The large and attentive audiences;

The perplexity of the socialist rank and file as indicated by their questions. (There is clearly something historic happening inside the Labour Movement).

There are I know some who think we should never have contested Clackmannan, and there will be some who, though they said nothing then, will now feel and say that such a contest was inadvisable.

Well, I think that all of us who were in it from the start are quite unrepentant. We felt it had to be done and while some of us may not have had our hopes fully satisfied all of us are convinced that it was right and all of us have been in some measure encouraged to go ahead.

There is a quotation I keep repeating when I feel we've had a reverse—a couplet by Browning:

**WE FALL TO RISE,
ARE BAFFLED TO FIGHT BETTER.**

That is the spirit in which we must always set out if we are to achieve our ultimate aim: the emancipation of all humanity from poverty and war.

VICTORY WILL COME

CECIL H. WILSON writes:

I SINCERELY hope that no lovers of peace will allow themselves to be discouraged by the result of the Clackmannan and East Stirling by-election.

If it had not been fought it would have been represented that the whole country was behind the policy of the Government and the Labour Party, whereas the truth is that 29,000 of the 46,000 electors did not vote.

Having spent three days in the constituency I am convinced that much good work has been done, and seeing, as I did, piles of letters coming in from all parts of Britain containing sixpenny postal orders or a few stamps or substantial cheques gave me a real confidence in the ultimate but certain victory.

PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing, and Advertisement Offices
3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Telephone: Stamford Hill 6157

Subscription Rates, anywhere in the World:
Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

**CUT OUT FOR RETURNS
No. 175 20.10.39**



ANDREW STEWART addressing an open-air meeting during the election campaign

Stuart Morris and the Church

A PERSONAL STATEMENT

MR. STUART MORRIS, chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, states:

"The public reports of my reference at Manchester to the resignation of my orders did not contain all I said, since I said there was a personal reason for my action as well as one of public interest.

"I should have resigned my orders in any case, but the attitude of the Church to the war gives me a double and compelling reason for so doing since some time ago I had agreed with Dr. Sheppard that if war broke out and the churches supported it I should feel constrained to give up my orders."

More About Gas Masks

In reply to a question by Mr. Vernon Bartlett in Parliament last week, Sir John Anderson advised that gas masks should still be carried in evacuation and neutral areas.

In reception areas, he said, the risk was less and conditions of life and work made the masks more liable to loss or damage; people need not feel the same need to keep the gas masks always with them.

Mr. Bartlett also pointed out that people had been turned away from places of entertainment in reception areas because they had not taken their gas masks.

The Home Secretary promised an inquiry.

An Appeal to Women

Miss Kathleen Hoskin of "Newhaven," Quintrel Road, Newquay, Cornwall, writes: "I want to appeal to all women of leisure and means (and others) to resolve to knit some garment for the poor and needy, e.g., refugees, unemployed, and the families of COs. If we can get promises of garments I think we can soon find where they are most needed."

ASK YOUR NEWSAGENT TO
DELIVER "PEACE NEWS"
EVERY WEEK

able of all the Communist Parties—has been summarily suppressed; and already in England, by the increase of administrative restrictions, the distinctive freedom of democracy: effective freedom of expression, has been largely lost.

Conceive this process continued and intensified, add to it all the moral degradation inevitable during the promised three years of totalitarian war—is it not plain that by that time England will be morally indistinguishable from Germany?

To End Hitlerism

The only way to destroy Hitlerism, and to prevent it from springing up again, is to put an end to preparation for war in Germany and in England—to cut off this diabolical way of escape from the social and economic problems of an industrialized Europe, by making a just and enduring peace.

The idea of destroying Hitlerism by war is a pure delusion. Hitlerism lives by war and the preparation for war. If we go on trying to destroy it by war, we shall end by enthroning it in this country also.

Now, we have been given a marvellous opportunity of peace.

First, because Russia, by occupying those parts of the Polish State which never was Polish, has made it patently impossible for us to do the suicidal thing we proposed to do: namely, fight till the independence of Poland as it was in August, 1939, is restored. It is right that there should be an independent Poland, but not the swollen, oppressive, Jew-baiting Poland which we were foolish enough to guarantee. That has perished through its own inherent weakness.

In the second place, by Russia's advance into Europe the Nazi plan of expansion toward the East and South-East has been checked far more effectively than it could have been by the military defeat of Germany. That military defeat of Germany is a mirage. Supposing it were achieved, it means anarchy in Germany. That anarchy neither we nor the French would have the power to control, because we also should be utterly exhausted, materially and morally. Russia would control it.

Make Peace

The only way to avoid the Bolshevization of a devastated Europe (which Russia herself does not desire) is to make peace—a just and enduring peace. If such a peace is quickly made, democracy will at least have the chance of doing its own creative work of smoothing the transition to socialism at home, and mitigating the impact of Russia on the West.

It is a fundamental condition of peace today that war-preparation as the sole escape from the contradictions of a capitalist economy shall be deliberately cut off. It follows that this war can be ended only by an effective measure of general disarmament. Peace—disarmament—socialism: these are now inseparable from one another. The choice is between having them imposed on us after years of misery, and choosing them freely now.

Peace concluded now involves the establishment of social justice on our own initiative and by peaceful means; war means socialization through devastation.

Germany and we may batter ourselves into anarchy and starve ourselves into marasmus, if we will: Russia then will build the new order on our ruins. But if Germany and we can be induced to refrain from battering ourselves into anarchy and starving ourselves into marasmus, we have the chance of collaborating with Russia and all the nations of Europe in the creation of a new society of nations in which its members can peacefully evolve.

Germany has already lost this war: but not to us. Hitler's dream of illimitable Lebensraum for an aggressive nationalism has vanished.

In the hard daylight he sees the Baltic not a German but a Russian lake, and Germany henceforward condemned to be on the defensive toward the East, ideologically and militarily. But that is no advantage to us, unless we seize it as an opportunity of peace.

It is only against Russia that Germany is weak. She would be weak against the democracies also, only if they were to remain democracies. Nations which have "for military reasons" to be spoon-fed with diluted truth cannot remain democracies. Our choice is between peace with democracy, if not intact, still capable of recovery, and losing the war just as Germany has already lost it—to Russia.

A Creative Policy

The main lines of a sane and creative policy are clear. We should regard the positive part of Hitler's offer as sincere. I believe it is sincere, because it is the only way of saving Germany from prostration before Russia.

Anyway, we stand to gain nothing and to lose much by treating it as humbug. We should therefore declare our willingness to enter into negotiations on the basis of his offer; but on two prior conditions, the refusal of which will be as dangerous to Hitler as their acceptance: first, the restoration of a Polish Poland and a Czech Bohemia; second, the acceptance by all the high contracting parties of an immediate measure of disarmament for Europe, under the supervision of a permanent commission of all the European nations, invested with full powers and with an international air-police for its instrument.

I know well enough that some pacifists will shake their heads at this. But I would beseech them, first, to remember that, now that the war has come, our prime duty is to seek the way to peace and not to shirk the problems of making it—it is no use saying "Stop the War!" unless we show people how to stop it; and, second, not to imagine that an international police force to safeguard a peace entered into by consent is the same as a national army. Pacifism is not anarchism, though some good pacifists may be anarchists.

We are a good way yet from the kingdom of heaven on earth. At the distance we are from it an international police is as indispensable to an international society, as an internal police is to a national one. Such a power is necessary if the independence of the small nations is to be secure, and Europe is to be liberated from the nightmare of aggression. Sooner or later this international society must come, if Europe is not to become a desert.

We need not stagger exhausted to it through blood and misery and famine and degradation. We must propose it and purpose it now.

Guarantees for Peace

But "we cannot trust Hitler." Granted. But neither—after Versailles—can Hitler trust us. We demand guarantees that Hitler will keep his word. He is entitled to guarantees that we shall keep ours.

The only possible guarantee is that of a power beyond us both: an international police, enforcing disarmament, and keeping the peace of consent. Make that peace, establish that guarantee, and Hitlerism is destroyed. There is no other way to destroy it. Other things besides Hitlerism—things nearer home, and with politer names—will be destroyed. We shall not weep tears over them.

THE UNITED CHRISTIAN PETITION MOVEMENT

PEACE MEETING NEW CRUSADERS

FOR NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL
RECONSTRUCTION AND PEACE BASED ON
CHRISTIAN SOCIAL PRINCIPLES.

CONWAY HALL,
RED LION SQUARE, HOLBORN

(3 minutes from Holborn Tube Station)

Sunday, October 29th, at 3 p.m.

Come and hear:—

Lady Clare Annesley and
Robert J. Scrutton

(Founder of the U.C.P.M.)

Come and take part in the inauguration of a People's Parliament and a National Plebiscite for Peace and International Reconstruction. It will be explained at the meeting how all people of good-will can co-operate to end War and make effective the will of the British people. Help to establish a People's Parliament in your district.

250 reserved seats 1/- 250 free seats.

Doors open at 2.45.

STOP PRESS

Published from Editorial and Publishing Offices, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4, by "Peace News," Ltd. (Registered Office, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1), and printed for them by The Walthamstow Press, Ltd. (T.U.), Guardian House, Forest Road, London, E.17.